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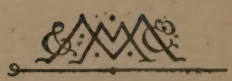
THE ORATIONS
OF
CICERO AGAINST CATILINA.



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THE ORATIONS

OF

CICERO AGAINST CATILINA,

EDITED AFTER

KARL HALM

BY

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NOTICE.

The sale of several large impressions of this edition during the last twenty-five years seems to indicate that it has been found as useful in English schools, as the original has been in Germany. But within this quarter of a century important contributions have been made both to the textual criticism and to the historical interpretation of these speeches. The time appeared to have arrived for a thorough revision of the book; and by the liberality of the publishers, who have had the whole re-set, it has been possible to carry this out with all the completeness that seemed requisite. The text has been carefully accommodated to the best critical editions, especially those of C. F. W. Müller, Nohl and Laubmann. In the grammatical references, Roby's Latin Grammars have, as a rule, been substituted for Zumpt, the School Grammar (S.G.) being, where possible, preferred to the larger book, as more likely to be in the hands of those using this edition. References to Madvig have been for the most part retained. In

some cases it will be obvious that the references are intended for teachers rather than pupils. The explanatory notes have been carefully revised, and occasionally compressed or expanded, without adding materially to their bulk. In the revision much aid has been derived from the latest edition of Halm's commentary by G. Laubmann. It has not been thought necessary to retain the use of square brackets to distinguish additions by the English editor.

A. S. W.

MANCHESTER, *July*, 1894.

IOSEPHO G. GREENWOOD LL.D.

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INTRODUCTION.

L. Sergius Catilina[1] was born of a patrician family § 1
about the year B.C. 108[2]. Endowed with unusual powers of mind and body[3] he had inherited from his father only a noble name, and not with it a rich inheritance[4] able to satisfy the excessive needs of a luxurious age. Swept away in the eddy of the universal immorality, in early youth Catilina flung himself into all possible pleasures and excesses[5] which, without undermining his gigantic strength, blunted his moral feelings, and, through his inclination to ambition, led him into a chain of awful crimes, through which his name stands out in history as one of the monsters of mankind.

Catilina entered upon public life just at the time § 2
of the Sullan rule of terror, during which, stained with the guilt of a brother's murder, and in fear of judicial

[1]) See Drumann's *Geschichte Roms*, v. 377 ff. Ihne *Römische Geschichte*, Vol. VI. c. 14. C. John *Entstehungsgeschichte der Catilinarischen Verschwörung*, Leipzig 1876. E. Hagen *Catilina* (Königsberg 1854). Mommsen's *Roman History*, Vol. IV. 164—184 (E. T. ed. 1). Merivale's *History*, I. 110—129. [2]) This calculation rests upon the assumption that Catilina attained the prætorship *suo anno* i.e. when 40 years of age, Ramsay, *Roman Antiquities*, p. 173. [3]) Sall. Cat. 5. Cic. or. I. § 26, II. § 9, III. § 16 f. p. Cael. § 12. [4]) Q. Cic. de petit. consul. § 9: *hic* (Catilina) *ne leges quidem metuit, natus in patris egestate, educatus in sororis stupris, corroboratus in caede civium.* [5]) Sall. 15. Cic. or. I. § 13.

punishment, he succeeded in having the murdered man placed on the list of the proscribed[6], as if he had been still living. As a zealous adherent of Sulla he sated his thirst for murder; for, placed at the head of a band of Gallic soldiers, he slew a number of Roman knights, among them his brother-in-law Caecilius, and tortured to death with brutal cruelty M. Marius Gratidianus, a relation of Marius and of Cicero[7]. After his quaestorship he was legatus, in which capacity he conducted (in what war is not known) the
§ 3 siege of an enemy's town[8]. In the year 73 he was accused of incest with a vestal virgin, Fabia, a sister of Cicero's wife, Terentia, but escaped condemnation by the intercession of Q. Lutatius Catulus[9]. In spite of the grave stains which attached to his character, still through his mastery in all arts of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and by his rare gift of attaching people to him[10], he succeeded in the year 68 in attaining the praetorship[11], which he seems to have gained at the legal age. The following year he administered as Propraetor the province of Africa, which he left in the summer of 66 in order to appear in Rome as a candidate for the consulship. But even before his departure from the province envoys from Africa had

[6]) Plut. v. Cic. c. 10: οὗτοι (οἱ νεωτερίζοντες) κορυφαῖον εἶχον ἄνδρα τολμητὴν καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἦθος, Λεύκιον Κατιλίναν, ὃς αἰτίαν ποτὲ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι μεγάλοις ἔλαβε παρθένῳ συγγεγονέναι θυγατρί, κτεῖναι δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ φοβούμενος ἔπεισε Σύλλαν ὡς ἔτι ζῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τοῖς ἀποθανουμένοις προγράψαι. [7]) Q. Cic. l. c. § 9 f. Ascon. ad or. in toga candida p. 75, 77, 80 ed. Kiessl. et Schöll. [8]) Sall. fragm. Hist. lib. I in Festus p. 193 Muell. [9]) Ascon. l. c. p. 82, Orosius VI. 3. [10]) Sall. 14, 16. Cic. or. II. § 7 ff. with the passages quoted there from the speech pro Caelio. [11]) p. Cael. § 10.

appeared before the senate to present complaints about the scandalous oppressions in which he had indulged as Propraetor; and hence, threatened with a prosecution for misgovernment, he was obliged to retire from his candidature[12]. In order to gain his ends by force, § 4 he took part in an enterprise which is commonly denoted as the first Catilinarian conspiracy, although the prominence of Catilina himself in it has probably been exaggerated. The consuls elect for the year 65, P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla, had been prosecuted and condemned for bribery; and thereupon the people elected the rival candidates, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, consuls[13]. Thereupon Catilina and Autronius[14], associating with themselves Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a young patrician spendthrift of the greatest resolution[15], are said to have joined in the

[12]) Ascon. p. 79 f. *Paulo ante diximus Catilinam, cum de provincia Africa decederet petiturus consulatum, et legati Afri questi essent de eo in senatu, graviter vituperatum esse. Professus deinde est Catilina petere se consulatum. L. Volcacius Tullus consul consilium publicum habuit an rationem Catilinae habere deberet, si peteret consulatum; nam quaerebatur repetundarum. Catilina ob eam causam destitit a petitione.* Cp. Mommsen *Röm. Staatsrecht* I.[2] p. 297: Cook's note on Sallust *Catilina* c. 18. [13]) Mr Shuckburgh, *Hist. of Rome*, p. 698 says 'The Senate (with questionable legality) ordered the defeated candidates to enter on the office.' I do not know the authority for this. Dio XXXVI. 44 says *αὐτοὶ ἀνθηρέθησαν.* [14]) Sall. 18. Asc. p. 82. Cic. or. Cat. I. § 15. p. Sulla § 68. Dio Cassius XXXVI. 27. Sulla probably also took part in the plot (cp. Reid's Introduction to *Orat. pro Sulla*, p. 12): the historians Dio Cassius (XXXVI. 44), and Suetonius (Caes. 9), and the Epitome of Livy (lib. CI.), distinctly affirm his guilt: on the other hand Sallust says nothing of him where he mentions as the ring-leaders in the conspiracy Catilina, Autronius and Cn. Piso (c. 18). [15]) Sall. 18: *erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant.* Ascon. in Corn. p. 66: *Cn. quoque Piso, adules-*

atrocious design of murdering the consuls, and several of the most distinguished senators besides, during the solemn sacrifice in the Capitol on Jan. 1st, of seizing the consular power for themselves, and of sending Piso with an army to Spain in order to take possession of this province, which had hardly begun to recover from the calamities of the war with Sertorius. But inasmuch as the scheme got wind, its execution was postponed till the meeting of the senate on Feb. 5, when the massacre was to have been made a general one. Again however the atrocious design was frustrated, for Catilina gave the signal to the conspirators before the senate-house too soon, when as yet but an insufficient number of armed men had appeared[16].

§ 5 According to Suetonius[17] however the heads of this conspiracy were not the above-mentioned, but their real instigators and leaders M. Crassus and C. Julius Caesar. Crassus was to be made dictator and Caesar his *magister equitum*, and after carrying out a reform of the constitution on democratic lines, Autronius

cens potens et turbulentus, familiaris erat Catilinae omniumque consiliorum eius particeps et turbarum auctor. [16]) Asc. p. 82 sq. [17]) Cacs. 9 *convenisse Curio ait, ut togam de umero deiceret* (Caesar): cp. also Cic. in tog. cand. in Asc. p. 82: *Praetereo nefarium illum conatum tuum...cum Cn. Pisone socio, ne quem alium nominem, caedem optimatium facere voluisti.* Dr Reid (Introd. to *Orat. p. Sulla*, p. 12) says 'it is impossible to attribute any importance to this account of Suetonius. The tale sprang partly from the protection extended in the Senate to Piso by Crassus, and partly from surmises current concerning Caesar and Crassus during the later conspiracy of Catiline.' Mommsen IV. 163—5 inclines to believe it, as quite consistent with their political action at the time: so does John *op. cit.* p. 715 ff., and Professor Tyrrell *Introd. to Cicero's Correspondence* I. 18. Drumann, Neumann *Gesch. Roms* II. 204, and Ihne VI. 203 reject it.

and Sulla were to be restored as consuls. According to a statement of the historian Tanusius Geminus, quoted by Sallust, it was not Catilina but Caesar who was to have given the signal for the massacre; but he omitted to do so, because Crassus, whether from repentance or from fear, had not made his appearance on the decisive day. Whatever the case may have been, open as the intended crime had been, still no one ventured to bring the criminals to trial; indeed the senate was even weak enough, on the motion of Crassus, to send one of the conspirators, Piso, in order to get him out of the way, as quaestor with praetorian power to Spain, where he was some time afterwards, at the instigation, it was said, of his personal and political enemy Pompeius, murdered by Spanish cavalry of his own army[18].

In the same year 65 the prosecution with which § 6
Catilina had been threatened, because of his oppressive misgovernment of the province of Africa, was conducted by P. Clodius Pulcher, afterwards the notorious enemy of Cicero. But he succeeded in buying off his accuser, so that the latter was wholly on his side in the challenging of the jury, and carried on the prosecution languidly[19]; but although Catilina had also bribed the judges, and had succeeded in inducing most influential men to appear on his behalf at the

[18]) Sall. 19. Asconius remarks ad or. in toga cand. p. 83: *in Hispaniam missus a senatu per honorem legationis, ut a sociis suis ablegaretur, ibi, dum iniurias provincialibus facit, occisus erat, ut quidam credebant, a Cn. Pompei clientibus Pompeio non invito.* Cp. Mommsen IV. 169. [19]) or. de har. resp. § 42 esp. Asc. p. 78: *ita quidem iudicio absolutus est Catilina, ut Clodius infamis fuerit praevaricatus esse; nam et reiectio iudicum ad arbitrium rei videbatur esse facta.*

trial[20], he narrowly escaped condemnation[21]. The intervention of this trial (for the case only came on when the consular comitia for 64 were already over[22]) had hindered Catilina from renewing the candidature for the consulship that he had intended for the year 65; yet it was well known, even before the beginning of the trial, that in 64 he would appear as candidate for the next year[23]. In addition to his ambitious views, he was urged by the pressure of his debts[24] to aim at the supreme power, that while in possession of it he might carry a general reduction or even a cancelling of debts, and pass other arbitrary measures tending to his enrichment, and above all might secure a wealthy province, which might satisfy his avarice. Hence he closely allied himself with a rival candidate, C. Antonius Hybrida, who was also pressed by all kinds of difficulties[25].

§ 7 According to the account of Sallust[26], about the beginning of June 64 he called the most daring of his followers to a secret meeting, where, in a

[20]) Cic. p. Sulla § 81. [21]) Ascon. p. 80: *quo* (iudicio) *ipse per infamiam liberatus est Catilina, sed ita, ut cum senatorum urna damnaret, equitum et tribunorum* (scil. aerariorum) *absolveret.* [22]) Cic. ad Att. I. 2. [23]) ibid. I. 1: *Catilina, si iudicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor.* It is noteworthy that Cicero entertained at least for a time the intention of coalescing with him. See ad Att. I. 2, with Boot's note and Tyrrell's *Introd.* I. pp. 7—8. [24]) Q. Cic. de pet. cons. § 10: *primum ex eo iudicio tam egens discessit, quam quidam iudices eius ante illud iudicium fuerunt, deinde tam invidiosus, ut aliud in eum iudicium cotidie flagitetur.* [25]) He was a son of the famous orator M. Antonius and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir M. Antonius. Cic. in tog. cand. in Asc. p. 78: *alter* (Antonius) *pecore omni vendito et saltibus prope addictis pastores retinet, ex quibus ait se, cum velit, subito fugitivorum bellum excitaturum.* [26]) Sall. 17, 20.

long speech, he encouraged them to hold out and take a bold course, and laid before them the hopes offered by a conspiracy, and the means of accomplishing them. He promised the destruction of the creditors' books [*novae tabulae*], the banishment of the rich, offices and priestly dignities, pillage and plunder, in short, all that follows upon a war and the tyranny of usurped power. Piso was in Spain, P. Sittius of Nuceria in Mauretania, both participators in his plan: C. Antonius, his trusted friend, was suing for the consulship; with him, whom he hoped to receive as a colleague, he would proceed as consul to the accomplishment of the work. The conspiracy was ratified with the most fearful oaths, and the most vigorous support of his candidature was urged upon its members, as the most immediate object of their activity. But this representation seems to be entirely misleading; and there can be little doubt that Sallust has ascribed to the year 64 designs on the part of Catilina, which were not made known, and probably not even formed until at least a year later.

§ 8 Besides Catilina and Antonius, five other candidates had presented themselves for the consulship for the year 63[27]: of these, the most important was M. Tullius Cicero. These two had allied themselves especially in order to keep him out, and resolved to leave unattempted no means, lawful or unlawful, to secure this end. Bad as their reputation was[28], their

[27]) Their names and characters are given by Asconius l. c. p. 73 sq. [28]) or. in toga cand. in Asc. p. 79: *te vero, Catilina, consulatum sperare aut cogitare non prodigium atque portentum est?*

prospects were still very good, as both Caesar and Crassus supported them against Cicero. On the other hand Cicero had but slight hope of victory. For however great the reputation which he had won as an orator and administrator, however high his standing in the affection of the people, for whose favour he had hitherto sued with great eagerness, however much his character, in spite of many weaknesses, might stand out above the moral filth of his time, still he was opposed by the powerful party of the nobility[29], who not only despised him as a *homo novus*, and hated him because of his bitter attacks upon the members of their order in former days, but also feared that in the future too he would work in the democratic interest and serve the ambitious designs of Pompeius.

§ 9 As however the action of Antonius and Catilina in this canvass outran all legal limits, the senate resolved to endeavour to check them by a more severe measure than the *lex Calpurnia de ambitu;* but the tribune of the commons Q. Mucius Orestinus interposed his veto. This gave Cicero the opportunity, some days before the elections, to unveil before the senate the daring intrigues and open bribery of Catilina and Antonius in a powerful speech[30] (*oratio in toga candida habita*), and to hint

[29]) Sall. 23. [30]) Asc. Argum. p. 74: *causa orationis huius modi in senatu habendae Ciceroni fuit, quod, cum in dies licentia ambitus augeretur propter praecipuam Catilinae et Antonii audaciam, censuerat senatus ut lex ambitus aucta etiam cum poena ferretur; eique rei Q. Mucius Orestinus tribunus pl. intercesserat. Tum Cicero, graviter senatu intercessionem ferente, surrexit atque in coitionem Catilinae et Antonii invectus est ante dies comitiorum paucos.* Of this speech we have only the fragments which Asconius quotes in his commentary

at still more powerful opponents, who stood in the background. These disclosures, and the sense of the dangers which threatened their own safety, broke the pride of the optimates, so that they united their votes for Cicero, especially as the other candidates seem to have withdrawn. Indeed it is probable that they had even previous to his speech resolved to take him up. With him Antonius was elected; Catilina however was only in a minority of a few centuries[31].

About the same time several instruments of the Sullan proscriptions had been condemned by the commissioner of investigation [*quaestor parricidii*], C. Julius Caesar, although the *lex Cornelia inter sicarios* had expressly excepted these. It appears to have been in revenge for these attacks of the democratic party that Catilina himself some months after the consular comitia was prosecuted by L. Lucceius for his murders at that time. Caesar seems to have presided at the trial; and Catilina was acquitted in spite of the most evident guilt[32]. § 10

Exasperated by this new attack, but especially by the failure of his hopes for the consulship, and § 11

upon it. It must be remembered that many of the most odious crimes charged upon Catilina rest mainly or entirely upon the statements made in this partisan electoral speech. [31]) Asc. p. 84: *Cicero consul omnium consensu factus est: Antonius pauculis centuriis Catilinam superavit, cum ei propter patris nomen* (s. note 25) *paulo speciosior manus suffragata esset quam Catilinae.* [32]) Dio XXXVII. 10, Ascon. p. 81. Cp. Mommsen IV. 172, Ihne *Röm. Gesch.* VI. 238. It is not clear whether it was on this occasion, as Ihne *Röm. Gesch.* VI. 209 says, or on his previous trial, as Dr Reid (Introd. to *p. Sull.* § 12) thinks, that several ex-consuls supported him in court, and bore witness to his character.

by his constantly increasing debt, Catilina now resolved to carry out his ambitious plans, and secure his election to the consulship for the following year, if necessary by means of a social revolution. The external position of the state seemed to promise possible success to such an enterprise. Nowhere in Italy was there an army: Pompeius was fighting in the far East; the senate was negligent and powerless; everywhere was outward peace and security[33]; whilst at home, by the false relations of classes, by the extravagant love of pleasure and deep moral degeneracy of all ranks of society, by the daily increasing confluence of rabble of all sorts into the capital, by the deep wounds which the Sullan reign of terror had inflicted on prosperity, industry, and property, an enormous mass of combustible material
§ 12 had been accumulated. In such a position of public relations numerous adherents[34] were soon found for a conspiracy, which ere long spread its net over the whole of Italy. Its wider circle was formed by the luxurious youth, those who had no possessions, the spendthrifts and criminals of all kinds, the veterans of Sulla, who after dissipating their quickly won riches longed for new booty, the great mass of those who had been driven from house and home by the military colonies, and finally, the most dangerous element, the mob of the capital, ever thirsting for pillage and blood. Its narrower circle consisted of the most depraved members of the aristocracy[35],

[33]) From Sall. 16. [34]) or. II. c. 8 ff. [35]) Fuller details will be found in Sall. 17. Florus says in his rhetorical bombast (II. 12): *ipse* (Catilina) *patricius: sed hoc minus est:*

whom ambition, profligacy, and debt, had made like Catilina in recklessness.

Securing the support of all these revolutionary elements in the state, Catilina urged his adherents to promote by all possible means his candidature for the consulship for the year 62, in the hope that if he were once consul-elect, he could easily guide Antonius at his will, and get Cicero out of his way by force. But the latter also was not wanting in watchfulness and cunning, to cross the plans of his bold enemy[36]. Cicero immediately upon entering on his consulship had secured, by means of great promises to a woman named Fulvia, to whom her lover Q. Curius had already disclosed many of the plans of Catilina, that he should be at once acquainted with every step which he proposed to take[37]. His colleague Antonius he had withdrawn from his connexion with Catilina, and induced to remain inactive, by giving up to him as his consular province the administration of Macedonia, which promised a rich booty[38]. For his personal safety he provided himself secretly with a body of friends and clients, who may perhaps have also served him as a secret police[39]. In order to counteract the election intrigues of Catilina, he carried a new *lex de ambitu*, in which the provisions of the *lex Calpurnia* of 67 were made more rigorous both as regards the number of the acts declared illegal[40] and § 13

Curii, Porcii, Sullae, Cethegi, Autronii, Varguntei atque Longini, quae familiae! quae senatus insignia! Lentulus quoque tum cum maxime praetor: hos omnes immanissimi facinoris satellites habuit. [36]) Sall. 26. [37]) Ihne VI. 250 well shows the untrustworthy character of this evidence. [38]) Cp. or. IV. § 23. [39]) Cp. or. III. § 5. [40]) s. p. Murena c. 32.

with respect to the punishment[41]. This law, which was directed primarily against himself, embittered Catilina, but did not shake him in his confidence[42]: it rather strengthened his resolution to make war upon a government which so far had only opposed hesitation and indecision to his bold measures and his defiant challenges[43].

§ 14 Long enough had the dismal spectre of a notorious conspiracy kept the city in miserable fear, when finally, alarmed by the threatening language of Catilina, who had expounded his social programme[44] in a private gathering[45], on the day before the elections[46] Cicero made a speech in the senate upon the danger of the state. The senate resolved to discuss the position of the commonwealth on the following day, instead of holding the consular comitia. At this sitting before a crowded house

[41]) Schol. Bob. ad or. p. Sulla p. 362: *poenam de ambitu graviorem consules C. Antonius et Cicero sanxerunt, ut praeter haec veteribus legibus constituta etiam exilio* (decem annorum) *multarentur.* [42]) See the fine description in the oration pro Murena, § 49. [43]) p. Mur. c. 25, ad fin.: *in eodem ordine* (i.e. senatu) *paucis diebus ante Catoni, fortissimo viro, iudicium minitanti ac denuntianti respondit, si quod esset in suis fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua, sed ruina restincturum.* [44]) p. Mur. 50: *meministis enim, cum illius nefarii gladiatoris voces percrebruissent, quas habuisse in contione domestica diceBatur, cum miserorum fidelem defensorem negasset inveniri posse, nisi eum qui ipse miser esset; integrorum et fortunatorum promissis saucios et miseros credere non oportere; quare qui consumpta replere, erepta recuperare vellent, spectarent, quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid auderet; minime timidum et valde calamitosum esse oportere eum, qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum.* [45]) Sallust c. 21 is clearly wrong in placing this meeting and speech in 64. Cp. Ihne *Röm. Gesch.* VI. 242. [46]) Mr Shuckburgh (*Hist. of Rome*) says that the elections were fixed for Sept 21st. Of this I think there is no evidence. Cp. Ihne *Röm. Gesch.* VI. 244.

the consul gave information of the latest steps of the conspirators[47], and called upon Catilina, who had not shrunk from appearing in the assembly, to state his opinion upon the revelations that had been laid before them. Instead of justifying himself, Catilina declared openly that the state had two bodies, an infirm one with a weak head, and a strong one without a head: but the latter should never want for a head, as long as he breathed. Thereupon with the mien of an assured victor he flung himself out of the assembly. In spite of this defiant attitude, no energetic resolutions were adopted[48], so that the consul was compelled to trust to his own action to secure his safety. On the day of the comitia, which probably followed a few days later[49], he appeared upon the Campus Martius[50], with a glittering cuirass under his toga, and with a strong body-guard of resolute men; so that the rabble of Catilina, who had gathered there in great numbers armed with swords, ventured no attack, and the election fell upon Decimus Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena.

When Catilina had thus failed for a third § 15

[47]) p. Mur. § 51. [48]) Ib.: *congemuit senatus frequens neque tamen satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit; nam partim ideo fortes in decernendo non erant, quia nihil timebant, partim quia timebant cuncta.* [49]) It has been commonly held (and it was so stated in earlier editions of this book) that the first public attack of Cicero upon Catilina's plans was made on Oct. 20th. This assumes that the consular elections were for some reason postponed from the month of July, their usual date, to the end of October. But John (*op. cit.*) has clearly shown that there is no reason for such a supposition. The intervening time may well have been spent by Catilina in making preparations for his armed rising. [50]) Cat. I. § 11. p. Sulla § 51 and esp. p. Mur. § 52.

time in his candidature for the consulship, and saw his attempt upon the life of Cicero frustrated, he resolved to proceed to open violence. As Ihne says, 'the conspiracy of Catilina dates from the day of the election in 63.' He exerted himself without intermission for the strengthening of his following: he worked upon the Italian country districts by means of active messengers; he assembled in various well-situated places in and out of Rome stores of weapons: he sent money which he had raised on his own credit and that of his friends to Faesulae in Etruria to C. Manlius, a former centurion of Sulla, who had already gathered together a number of abandoned and ruined men and was the appointed military leader of the rebellion.

After the preparations were completed, it was arranged that Manlius should raise the standard of revolt in Etruria on Oct. 27th; the next day the consul and the leading optimates were to be attacked and murdered in the city[51].

§ 16 Cicero, informed of these plans, summoned the senate on Oct. 21st; and at last it plucked up courage, and after two days' discussion, it conferred upon the consuls unrestricted powers to provide for the safety of the state by the resolution '*videant consules ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat*'[52]. When a few days afterwards the senator L. Saenius read a letter from Faesulae, to the effect that C. Manlius had taken up arms on the 27th of October,

[51]) Cat. I. § 7. [52]) For the force of this formula, which corresponds to our 'declaration of a state of siege' cp. Sall. 29, Dio XXXVII. 31.

with a numerous body of followers, and when news came in of risings of the slaves in Capua and Apulia, the senate resolved to make extensive military preparations. The proconsuls[53], Q. Marcius Rex and Q. Metellus Creticus, were sent, the one to Faesulae, the other to Apulia and the surrounding districts, the praetors, Q. Pompeius Rufus and Q. Metellus Celer, to Capua and Picenum, with orders to raise troops; rewards were offered for information as to the conspiracy, and extensive provisions were made for the safety of the city. Catilina himself as the author of these troubles was accused of a breach of the peace under the *lex Plautia de vi* by a young patrician L. Æmilius Paullus: whereupon he, still acting as though he were undetected, offered to place himself in the hands of several distinguished men[54], that no one might think he would escape by flight the danger that threatened him. Yet he had already determined, as in the city he always found himself fettered by the keen watchfulness of the consul, to place himself at the head of the army in Etruria, and to bring the struggle to a speedy decision before the preparations of the republic should be completed: only before his departure from Rome he intended to try one capital stroke, the assassination of the consul.

In the night between the 6th and 7th of November, he called together his followers to a new assembly in the house of M. Porcius Laeca. Here § 17

[53]) Sall. 30 *ei utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.* [54]) Sall. 31. Cic. or. I. § 19. Dio XXXVII. 32.

he announced his approaching departure for the army, decided who should remain in the city, and who betake themselves to the army, divided among those who remained the different parts they were each to play in the murder and conflagration determined upon, and demanded finally the immediate assassination of Cicero: whereupon the senator L. Vargunteius and the knight C. Cornelius offered to murder the consul at daybreak in his own house. Cicero however, informed during the night of these preparations, secured himself against an attack, strengthened the city watches, and then on the 8th Nov.[55] called a meeting of the senate in the Temple

[55]) Opinions have been divided as to the date on which the speech was delivered, some scholars supposing it to have been the 7th, others the 8th of November. The investigation must start from the passage in *pro Sulla* 52 (*nocte ea, quae secuta est posterum diem Non. Nov.*, i.e. the night which followed the day after the Nones), from which it appears that the assembly took place in the night between the 6th and the 7th, and that the morning of the 7th was fixed for Cicero's murder. The passages in our speeches which come into the question (I. 1, 8; II. 6, 13) have been carefully examined by John, who after thoroughly criticising the statements of our authorities and all the suggestions which have been made, decides for the 8th of November (*op. cit.* pp. 778 ff.). In a second paper on 'The date of the First Speech against Catilina' in *Philologus*, Vol. XLVI. (1888), pp. 650—665, John proves that in the first and second speeches the expression *superior* (*prior*) *nox* denotes the night of the assembly at the house of Laeca (6th-7th Nov.), while *proxima nox* denotes the following night: hence in I. 1 *proxima*='immediately preceding,' in II. 13='next succeeding.' John indicates as the most important reason for the postponement of the meeting of the senate to the 8th of November, that Catilina had probably fixed his departure to join Manlius for the night between the 7th and the 8th of November, and Cicero now conjectured that in spite of the failure of the attempt to murder him, Catilina would still leave Rome on this night, and so acknowledge his guilt. With reference to the statement of Asconius, that the first

of Jupiter Stator, which for the sake of security he had surrounded with armed Roman knights. When Catilina had the audacity to appear here[56], Cicero broke out into a fiery speech and showed his defiant enemy that he had the exactest information of all his steps and ways: he gave him the moderate advice to anticipate the inevitable punishment of justice, by a voluntary exile. The speech, *the first against Catilina*[57], as it is usually called, which had

speech was delivered on the eighteenth day after the *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed (see on I. 4) John shows that it is only by conjecture that Oct. 21 is fixed as the day of the *s.c. ultimum*: but that according to Dio Cassius (XXXVII. 31, XLI. 3) the adoption of measures of security took up two days' sittings; on the first day anonymous warning letters with reference to the threatened massacre of the optimates were read, and a declaration of the *tumultus* as well as an enquiry as to those guilty, were adopted, but on the second day, i.e. on Oct. 22, the news from Etruria as to the levies and movements of Manlius was discussed and then only the *s.c. ultimum* passed. The question still remains whether the attempt on Cicero's life was made on the morning of the 7th or on that of the 8th. Mommsen in *Hermes* I. 435 has argued strongly for the latter date, supposing that the night-assembly may have lasted so long that Vargunteius and Cornelius were obliged to postpone their plans for 24 hours:—a delay which very possibly saved the life of Cicero. Halm thought that the language of II. 12 (*hesterno die cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris vocavi*) was almost decisive in favour of Mommsen's view: but it is very hard to reconcile it with the express words of I. 9, 10; cp. Sallust, c. 27. Ihne casts doubts on the whole story of this attempted murder.

[56]) Sallust, c. 31 says *dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi si iurgio lacessitus foret.*

[57]) In the list of his consular speeches intended for publication (ad Att. II. 1, 3) Cicero himself characterises the four Catilinarian speeches in the following manner: *septima, cum* (cod. Med. *quo=quom*) *Catilinam emisi, octava, quam habui ad populum postridie quam Catilina profugit, nona in contione, quo die Allobroges indicarunt: decima in Senatu Nonis Decembribus.* As it is only the first speech which is directly aimed at Catilina, it is not probable that all the four speeches bore the name *orationes*

as its further object to rouse the senate out of its undecided position to a bolder course of action, was published by Cicero, as he afterwards put it into writing.

§ 18 When the consul had ended, Catilina with downcast looks and suppliant voice begged the senate not too hastily to believe everything about him. He sprang (he said) from such a family, he had so lived from his youth up, that he might hope for every success. They could not think that he, a patrician, who like his ancestors had established high claims upon the people, could need the overthrow of the republic, whilst M. Tullius, an immigrant into the city of Rome[58], threw himself forward as its saviour. He was ready to proceed to further insults, when the whole senate interrupted him with a cry of indignation, calling him enemy and traitor. He

in Catilinam and that Cicero published them under this title, that usually accepted; we believe that only the first was called *oratio in Catilinam*, and the following ones *oratio ad populum* (or *in contione*) and *in senatu*, with a closer specification of the occasion, as for instance the two so-called speeches *post reditum*, which like these were not delivered for or against any particular individual, according to the best authorities bear the inscription: *oratio cum Senatui gratias egit* and *cum populo gratias egit*. The citations in the rhetoricians and grammarians vary much. In cases where no more exact distinction of the individual speeches is given, they generally bear the collective name *Invectivae in Catilinam*, and are cited thus by books. Though it is probable that this inscription only rests upon the authority of the grammarians, still we have chosen it as a title handed down to us from antiquity, especially as the collective title according to the accordant testimony of the oldest MSS. runs: *Invectivarum in Catilinam libri IIII.*

[58]) Sall. 31 *inquilinus*; cf. App. de b. civ. II. 2: Κατιλίναν δ' αὐτὸν ἐς ὕβριν τῶν ἑλομένων (those who voted for him) ἐπέσκωπτεν, ἐς μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους καινὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐς δὲ ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐγκουλίνον, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις.

rushed immediately out of the assembly, addressed a few farewell words to his trustiest friends, to whom he promised an early return at the head of an army, and the same night set out with a few followers to the camp of Manlius. Even outside the capital he continued the game of deception, and wrote on his journey to the most distinguished men at Rome, that a victim to hostile intrigues and calumnies, he was yielding to the force of circumstances, and was on his way to exile at Massilia[59]. His confidants in Rome had spread the same rumour immediately after his departure[60].

Cicero, freed as he thought from his heaviest § 19
care, the next day, that is the 9th Nov., delivered a speech to the people, *the second against Catilina*[61], in which he attempted on the one hand, by an explanation of the state of affairs, to quiet the general anxiety; on the other, to deter those of the conspirators who still remained in the city from further attempts. So the speech had thus the same aim which is now attained in the case of important public events by official communications of the government.

The hope which Cicero had expressed in this § 20
speech also, that the head of the conspiracy was crushed by the withdrawal of Catilina, was not

[59]) Sall. 34. [60]) or. II. § 14. 16. [61]) In the oldest MSS. the following short argument has been preserved:—*Superiore libro Catilina circumventus eloquentia Ciceronis spontaneum elegit exilium, unde oratori maxima venisse videbatur invidia. Sed postero die timore dissimulato processit ad populum fingens se timere quod emiserit Catilinam, ut minus sit invidiosum quod eum in exilium expulerit. Prooemium sumptum ab exultatione dicentis verbis paene triumphantibus, qui sine damno rei publicae superare bellum potuerit.*

fulfilled. A letter from Catilina, written on his journey to Q. Catulus, showed a different tone from his earlier missives. Without stating at what his immediate views were aimed, it contained the declaration, that weary of the repulses and persecutions that he had undergone, he had resolved to make the cause of the oppressed his own[62]. Not long after the news reached Rome that Catilina had entered the camp of Manlius with the *fasces*[63] and other signs of the *imperium*. Upon this report[64] the senate outlawed Catilina and Manlius as enemies of the state; to their adherents an amnesty was assured, if, before a fixed time, they laid down their arms: the only exception made was in the case of those condemned for capital crimes. The consuls received orders to levy troops. Antonius was to take the command in all haste, whilst Cicero was to remain in Rome and care for the safety of the city.

§ 21 But small as had been the success of the former resolution of the senate which had offered a reward for information about the conspirators, the promise of an amnesty was just as unsuccessful in drawing away even a single rebel from Catilina's camp[65]. On the contrary, he received large accessions from all parts, whilst the leaders of the conspiracy in the city, the praetor P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura[66] and the

[62]) The whole letter is given in Sall. 35. [63]) Cp. Sall. Dio xxxvii. 32, or. Cat. ii. § 13, p. Sulla, § 17. [64]) Sall. 36. [65]) The student should refer on this point to the remark of Sallust c. 36 ad fin. Ihne points out that this goes to show that the current accounts of the conspiracy were greatly exaggerated. [66]) Plut. v. Cic. 17: *τοὺς δ' ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κατιλίνα συνήγε καὶ παρεθάρρυνε Κορνήλιος Λέντλος Σούρας ἐπίκλησιν, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ἐνδόξου,*

senator C. Cornelius Cethegus, although constantly surrounded by the watchful care of the consul, continued their intrigues and their preparations undisturbed, and with the greatest activity[67]. The plan, as it had been arranged with Catilina, was, according to Sallust's account[68], that when Catilina with his army had entered the district of Faesulae, the tribune of the commons L. Bestia should complain of Cicero's measures in an assembly of the commons, and should lay the whole responsibility of the fatal war upon the head of the consul. When the public feeling was thus embittered, the conspirators in the following night were to proceed to carry out the parts assigned to each. Statilius and Gabinius, with their followers, were commissioned to set the city on fire in twelve places at once: Cethegus was to beset the doors of Cicero's house and attack him in arms, while other leaders did the same to other distinguished men: the younger conspirators, most of whom belonged to noble families, were to kill their parents, and then, when the confusion had become universal through murder and fire, an attempt was to be made by force of arms to break through to Catilina.

The impetuous Cethegus urged immediate action[69]: § 22 at last the feast of the Saturnalia, on the 19th December[70], was fixed upon for the night of murder.

βεβιωκὼς δὲ φαύλως καὶ δι' ἀσέλγειαν ἐξεληλαμένος τῆς βουλῆς πρότερον, τότε δὲ στρατηγῶν (i.e. praetor) *τὸ δεύτερον, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνακτωμένοις τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀξίωμα.* [67]) Sall. 39 ad fin. [68]) c. 43; cp. too Plut. Cic. 18. [69]) or. III. § 10, Sall. 43 ad fin. [70]) In later times after Caesar's correction of the calendar they fell on Dec. 17.

If we may trust a statement in the fragments of Diodorus[71], the proposal was on this day, when clients were accustomed to bring to their patrons presents (ξένια), and the houses stood open, to send to those whom they wished to put out of the way, masked assassins, and at the same time to murder almost all the senators. But one of the appointed assassins, whose number is stated at four hundred, divulged the accursed plan to his mistress, who immediately acquainted Cicero's wife with the scheme. However this may have been, it is certain that Cicero received timely information[72] of the design of striking a blow about this time; but in consequence of the great number of followers whom the conspirators could count in every class and even in the first families, he did not venture to take any steps until he had in his hands the surest proofs of a *delictum manifestum*[73].

§ 23 A fortunate accident, or rather the thoughtlessness[74] of the conspirators themselves, furnished him with these. At the time envoys of the Allobroges from the province of Transalpine Gaul happened to have come to Rome, to gain the assistance of the senate against the oppression of the officials, and the avarice of the usurers[75]. Lentulus tampered with these by means of a certain P. Umbrenus, and promised them relief from all their grievances, if they were willing to support the undertaking of Catilina

[71]) s. Fragmenta histor. Graec. ed. Car. Muellerus, Vol. II. p. XXVI. [72]) s. or. III. § 10. 17. [73]) as Cicero himself plainly intimates, or. III. § 4. Cp. too § 17. [74]) or. III. § 22. [75]) Sall. c. 40 f. 44 ff. Cic. or. III. § 4 ff.

by armed assistance, especially by sending cavalry[76]. Without being yet decided about their ultimate views, they agreed to co-operate, but after a long consideration they found it would be more to their interest to reveal all they knew to their patron, Q. Fabius Sanga. Through him Cicero got to hear of the matter, and now commissioned the envoys to feign the most active participation in the conspiracy, and to procure, before their approaching departure from the city, papers from the heads of the conspiracy as credentials for them on their return home. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, without suspicion, fell into the trap. Cassius alone refused to join them in giving any written pledge: he explained that he would be soon coming to Gaul himself, and in fact he left the city shortly after, even before the envoys. As their way led the latter through Etruria they promised also to find out Catilina himself, and to conclude the treaty with him in person: for the sake of this there was sent with them as a guide a certain T. Volturcius from Crotona, with an autograph letter and verbal instructions to Catilina[77]. So when § 24
they entered upon their journey in the night of the 2nd and 3rd December, Cicero gave the praetors L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus orders to arrest the envoys with their suite and dispatches. These, skilled as they were in military matters, executed the attack with success on the Mulvian bridge. Informed immediately of the successful capture, Cicero, before daybreak, summoned to his house Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, who had taken a principal part

[76]) or. III. § 9. [77]) Sall. 44 ad fin.

in the negotiations with the Gauls, and a certain Ceparius from Terracina, who was on the point of setting out for Apulia to take the command of a slave-revolt[78]. All the others presented themselves without suspicion or resistance; Ceparius only, who had gone out just before, at the news of the treachery, had already fled from the city. Then the consul called a meeting of the senate in the temple of Concordia, where the prisoners were heard in their defence, and soon convicted upon the statements of the Allobroges and the clear evidence of their own hands and seals[79]. After the confession that ensued, the senate resolved that the prisoners, and also Ceparius, who had in the mean time been brought back from his flight, should be given over to the custody of various senators. For the further resolutions of the senate, we may refer to the sixth chapter of the third speech[80].

§ 25 This important sitting had lasted till evening. When the senate dispersed, the consul proceeded to the people who were waiting in large numbers and eager expectation[81], and communicated the facts to them in a speech which is preserved under the name of the *third Catilinarian oration.* The impression that his words made can be measured by the lively sketch of the excitement, which, according to Sallust (c. 48), had arisen in Rome after the public discovery of the conspiracy: *Plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello fauebat, mu-*

[78]) As to the feelings of the consul then cp. Sall. c. 46, a passage which applies also to the day of the Nones. [79]) Sall. 47. Cic. or. III. § 8 ff. [80]) Cp. also or. IV. §§ 5. 10, or. Phil. II. § 13 ff. [81]) Plut. v. Cic. 19.

tata mente Catilinae consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat. Namque alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, immoderatum ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant[82].

The next day brought fresh excitement, as the § 26
rumour spread, that a violent release of the prisoners was contemplated by the adherents of Lentulus and Cethegus by creating a disturbance among the lowest stratum of the people[83]. Immediately Cicero had the Capitol and the Forum occupied during the night by a strong watch: early the next day, the Nones of December, he made the people take the military oath before the praetors, in case of soldiers being needed[84]. Then he called the senate together in the temple of Concordia[85], protected by a large force under arms, in order to decide the fate of the prisoners, which the senate had not constitutionally the right to do[86].

After the resolutions passed by the senate on the § 27
3rd December, it was to be expected that the sentence would be a severe one. D. Junius Silanus[87], asked his opinion first as consul elect, expressed himself to the effect that the punishment of death should be inflicted on the prisoners, and also on L. Cassius, P. Furius,

[82]) The change in the public sentiment is intimated also in or. IV. § 14 ff. [83]) Sall. 50. Cic. or. IV. § 17. Dio XXXVII. 35. App. b. civ. II. 5. [84]) Dio *ut supra*. [85]) on the clivus Capitolinus, which was wholly occupied by Roman knights. [86]) Mommsen, IV. 178 (E. T.). [87]) Sall. 50, who remarks: *postea permotus oratione C. Caesaris pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat, quod de ea re praesidiis additis referundum censuerat.*

P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, if they should fall into their hands. The consulars who voted next[88] coincided with his views, until it came to the turn of C. Julius Caesar, who was at the time praetor elect, and who first gave another direction to the course of the debate[89]. After he had denounced in a somewhat lengthy speech[90] the measure of the execution as illegal and in its consequences very serious[91], he ended with the proposal that the property of the conspirators should be confiscated, and they should themselves be sent into perpetual custody in various municipia, and these made strictly responsible for their secure detention: further, every proposal before the senate or the people for the relaxation or the complete remission of their punishment should be declared an attempt against the safety of the state[92]. This speech, well calculated to

[88]) Their names are given in Cic. ad Att. XII. 21, 1 and Phil. II. § 12. [89]) Suet. v. Caes. 14. [90]) In Sallust, c. 51. On the reasons of his vote see Plut. Cic. c. 20 ad fin. Drumann (v. 506) remarks excellently, "In spite of the mildness natural to him, the fate of the prisoners did not come into his consideration: had his far-reaching schemes demanded it, he would have sacrificed them; he was just as far from any care for the senate, which undertook a grave responsibility by a sentence of death, as from any zeal for law and the established constitution. His purpose was to oppose the aristocracy and its resolutions, whatever the circumstances might be, and to throw such light upon its action that it might appear in an odious form and create as much excitement as possible. At the same time he showed himself to be the man of the people, who desired not blood but merely protection against murder and fire, and this protection his vote did not refuse them." Caesar's speech can cause very little surprise if he himself, as Mommsen (IV. 166—167) has made very probable, by an acute collection of evidence, was an accessory to the conspiracy [G. Boissier's Cicéron, p. 54. Merivale, I. 117]. [91]) Cp. Suet. Caes. 14: *metum iniecit asperiora suadentibus identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum a plebe Romana maneret invidia.* [92]) Sall. c. 51, § 42. Cic. or. IV. § 8. 10.

shake the assembly, did not fail to produce a deep impression, so that the next opinions began to waver, and even Quintus Cicero, the brother of the consul, agreed to the proposal of Caesar[93].

As the consul saw the senators wavering and even § 28
expressing fears for his life, he found it necessary to take a part himself in the discussion, to inspirit the senate, to adjure them to set aside in their decision all considerations for his person, and so to draw back the course of the discussion, the issue of which appeared to be growing doubtful, into its former channel. His speech, *the fourth against Catilina*, is indeed apparently, as his position as presiding consul required, merely an explanation of the views of Silanus and Caesar as bearing on his own personal safety, for which Caesar's proposal seemed the less dangerous[94]; but through his words the wish is evidently apparent that the assembly should decide for the stricter vote of Silanus. We can hardly believe, however, that in the midst of the discussion Cicero should have delivered such a copious speech: its original germ, the clear exposition of both proposals and the opposition to the view of Caesar conducted with as much delicacy as art, certainly did not receive its rhetorical embellishment before its subsequent committal to writing; and this supposition will best explain its somewhat pusillanimous exordium[95]. The point of the debate at

[93]) Suet. Caes. 14. [94]) Cp. § 9. [95]) If the speech was composed subsequently, several difficulties that have been found in it are explained, especially the occurrence of several passages which would have been expected rather in the opening speech of a presiding consul (*relatio* in a narrower sense). As Cicero wrote down the speech, it was to appear as

which Cicero stepped in with his speech is not stated by any express authority[96]; but it is plain that he spoke before Cato and Tiberius Nero, the latter of whom proposed a middle course by the adjournment of the decision[97]. As Cicero does not mention their sentiments, we cannot be far from the truth if we place his speech after the opinions of the *viri praetorii*. Cicero does not seem to have succeeded altogether in banishing the anxiety of the senate[98]: at least all historians agree in testifying that it was only the appearance of young M. Porcius Cato[99], at the time tribune elect, which decided the resolution of the senate[100]. For Cato, says Velleius Paterculus (II. 35), broke out against the conspiracy with so much courage and spirit, with such flashing eyes accused the speeches of those who recommended mercy of participation in the conspiracy, painted in such lively colours the dangers which had threatened them all from the conflagration and the ruin of the city and the overthrow of the constitution, praised in such dignified language the resolute conduct of the consul, that the senate supported his vote, which was for death, and a great number of

a complete whole in the *corpus orationum invectivarum*, not as the isolated portion of a conciliatory *sententia* in the course of the discussion. [96]) Sallust curiously enough makes no reference to it. [97]) Sallust says *praesidiis additis* 'only after care had been taken for the safety of the state by stronger means of defence'; the statement of Appian, b. c. II. 5, is more probable: he gives the proposal of Nero thus; that the guilty persons should be kept in custody until Catilina had been defeated, and a thorough investigation could be held. [98]) According to the intimation in Plut. v. Cic. 21, the majority of the senators, even after Cicero had spoken, inclined to the proposal of Caesar from care for the life of the consul. [99]) His speech is given by Sallust, c. 52. [100]) Sall. 53.

the senators conducted Cicero to his house after the termination of the sitting. The sentence of the senate was carried out without appeal to the people before nightfall, and the traitors strangled in the Tullianum[101]. Catilina himself and his forces were annihilated in the battle of Pistoria at the beginning of the year 62, after they had fought with a desperate courage, worthy of a better cause[102].

The MSS. of these speeches are, as a rule, rather corrupt, owing to the extent to which they were read and therefore repeatedly re-copied in the Middle Ages. The most important of them may be divided into three classes :—

I. *A*, an Ambrosian MS. at Milan, ascribed to the 10th or 11th century.

a, a Medicean MS. at Florence, of the 14th century, but copied from a good early MS. by a careful scribe.

S, a MS. much resembling *A*, used by Stephanus for his edition of 1554.

H, the Harleian MS. (2682) of the 11th century in the British Museum, recently collated by Mr A. C. Clark. It belongs to this class, but has some glosses and corrections from II. and III., and is not of so much value here as e.g. for the *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii*.

[101]) Sall. 55, Mommsen, iv. 170. Ramsay, *Roman Antiquities*, p. 28. [102]) ibid. 57 ff. Florus II. 12, 12 : *Nemo hostium bello superfuit ; quem quis in pugnando ceperat locum, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, pulcherrima morte, si pro patria sic concidisset.* Mommsen, iv. 180.

II. *b*, *Benedictoburanus*, of the 12th century at Munich (Monac. 4611).

s, *Salisburgensis*, of the 11th or 12th century, also at Munich (Monac. 15964).

i, *Indersdorfensis*, of the 13th century, also at Munich (Monac. 7809), agreeing more commonly than the other two with I.

III. *t*, *Tegernseensis*, of the 11th century at Munich (Monac. 19472).

u, *Bruxellensis*, also of the 11th century, at Brussels. These alone have the true reading *conivere possum* in ii. 27.

The *Codex Erfurtensis*, which contains only or. iv. (from *a vatibus* 1, 2), belongs to this class.

The other MSS., of which Halm for his critical edition (Zurich, 1854) used nearly forty, are of little use; as a recent editor has said '*onerant magis quam sublevant editoris operam.*' In this edition Halm preferred to follow class I., especially *a* (*A* not being adequately known); afterwards for his German edition (on which the present is based) he chose rather to be guided by II. But all recent editors (C. F. W. Müller, Nohl, Eberhard, Laubmann, in his revision of Halm's edition) have reverted to Halm's earlier opinion, and have given the preference to I. which, though not free from errors, has escaped almost entirely from deliberate corruptions, and has fewer and less serious mistakes than the other classes. (Cp. O. A. Lehmann in *Hermes* 1879 p. 625 ff.) Hence the text has now been revised from this point of view. The changes do not often amount to more than the omission of a word or a change in the order.

Passages of greater critical difficulty or importance are discussed in an appendix.

The genuineness of one or more of these Catilinarian orations has been disputed since the days of F. A. Wolf, chiefly in Holland by Bake and Rinkes. But these suspicions are utterly groundless, especially if we are willing to admit that the speeches as we have them may have been considerably modified by the orator in committing them to writing after their delivery. Cp. Madvig, *Opusc.* II. pp. 338—351. Drumann, v. 470—474. Teuffel, *Roman Literature*, I. p. 288.

The English student will derive much help in reading these orations from Prof. Ramsay's excellent articles on Catilina and Cicero in Dr Smith's *Dict. Biog.*, and from his *Roman Antiquities*, to which reference has been constantly made: also from Dean Merivale's *Fall of the Roman Republic* and *History of the Romans under the Empire* (Vol. I.), and from Mommsen's *History of Rome* (Vol. IV.). Nägelsbach's *Stilistik*, from its large collection of illustrative passages, is very useful even to those who are not familiar with German. For other helps to the study of Cicero, see Professor Mayor's edition of Halm's *Second Philippic*, itself most valuable.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

INVECTIVARUM IN L. CATILINAM

LIBRI QUATTUOR.

ORATIO PRIMA

HABITA IN SENATU.

Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia I 1
nostra? quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? O 2
tempora, o mores! senatus haec intellegit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, fortes viri, satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.

Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci iussu consulis iam pridem oportebat, in te conferri istam pestem,
3 quam tu in nos machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum, mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae, privatus interfecit: Catilinam, orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium, novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

II
4. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica: num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum pl. et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim huius modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim interfectum te esse,

Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. Castra sunt in Italia contra populum 5
Romanum in Etruriae faucibus collocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus, eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videtis intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficiere, cum iam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non iure factum esse fateatur. Quam diu quis- 6
quam erit qui te defendere audeat, vives, sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod III
iam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios neque privata domus parietibus continere voces coniurationis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt

clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quae iam mecum
7 licet recognoscas. Meministine me ante diem XII
Kalendas Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in
armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem
VI Kalendas Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciae
satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me
fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox
tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis
est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu,
caedem te optimatium contulisse in ante diem V.
Kalendas Novembres, tum cum multi principes
civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam
tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profu-
gerunt. Num infitiari potes te illo ipso die meis
praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere
te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu
discessu ceterorum nostra tamen, qui remansis-
8 semus, caede te contentum esse dicebas? Quid?
cum te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus
occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres,
sensistine illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis,
custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil
moliris, nihil cogitas, quod *non* ego non modo
audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

IV Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam su-
periorem: iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius
ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae.
Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—non
agam obscure—in M. Laecae domum; convenisse
eodem complures eiusdem amentiae scelerisque
socios. Num negare audes? quid taces? con-
vincam, si negas; video enim esse hic in senatu

quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt. O di immor- 9
tales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hos ego video consul et de re publica sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina; distribuisti partes Italiae; statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres, discripsisti urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos esse pollicerentur. Haec ego omnia, vixdum etiam 10
coetu vestro dimisso, comperi; domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi; exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego iam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.

Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti, V
egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae: pro- 11
ficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam.

Magna dis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. Quam diu mihi, consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna
12 calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam. Nunc iam aperte rem publicam universam petis; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam totam ad exitium et vastitatem vocas. Quare quoniam id, quod est primum et quod huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus; sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina
13 rei publicae. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id me imperante facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me: num in exsilium? Non iubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

VI Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam in hac

urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam coniurationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat, nemo qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afuit? cui tu adulescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti? Quid vero? nuper, 14 cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes proximis Idibus tibi impendere senties: ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent. Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, 15 aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat, te pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac iam illa omitto — neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissa postea —: quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens vero consulem interficere

conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! Nihil agis, nihil adsequeris, neque tamen conari ac velle
16 desistis. Quotiens tibi iam extorta est ista sica de manibus! quotiens excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.

VII Nunc vero quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim iam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid? quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi
17 ferendum putas? Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et si me meis civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallem: tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum aspectum praesentiam-

que vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui nec eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quae communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim pertimesces? Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et 18
quodam modo tacita loquitur: 'Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad neglegendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpuerit Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe, si est verus, ne opprimar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.'

Haec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne VIII 19
impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quod vitandae suspicionis causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? a quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es atque ut domi meae te adservarem rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse isdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod

isdem moenibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum praetorem venisti: a quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum demigrasti, quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicarit?

20 Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam, multis suppliciis iustis debitisque ereptam, fugae solitudinique mandare? 'Refer' inquis 'ad senatum'; id enim postulas, et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam ut intellegas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exsilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum
21 voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? At si hoc idem huic adulescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro M. Marcello dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo senatus iure optimo vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant; neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant sena-

tum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam ut te haec, quae vastare iam pridem studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? IX 22
tu ut umquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint! Tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocaverit. Quam ob 23
rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere, ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium: vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiae, si in exsilium iussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manlium, concita perditos cives, secerne te a bonis, infer patriae bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris. Quamquam quid ego te in- 24

vitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem? a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum [tuorum] constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti? X 25 Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te iam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim tibi haec res adfert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nanctus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflatam improborum manum. 26 Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere! quibus gaudiis exsultabis! quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam nec videbis. Ad huius vitae studium meditati illi sunt qui feruntur labores tui, iacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse 27 senties. Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius temptare quam consul

vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod esset a te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

Nunc ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam XI prope iustam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim si mecum patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur: 'M. Tulli, quid agis? Tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem coniurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed inmissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincla duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem 28 te impedit? Mosne maiorum? At persaepe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt? At numquam in hac urbe, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium iura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiae aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium tuorum neglegis. Sed si quis est invidiae metus, non est 29 vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda. An

cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?'

XII His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu iudicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quodsi ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem. Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea quae imminent non videant, aut ea quae vident dissimulent: qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt; quorum auctoritate multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore qui non videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quodsi se eiecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos nau-

fragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium. Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis XIII 31
coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quodsi ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflictantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet. Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, 32
unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, quod saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare: sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cuiusque, quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor vobis hoc, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta inlustrata, oppressa vindicata esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei 33

publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tu, Iuppiter, qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et huius socios a tuis [aris] ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium omnium arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate coniunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

ORATIO SECUNDA

HABITA AD POPULUM.

TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem, ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit excessit, evasit erupit. Nulla iam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur; non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe expulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullo impediente bellum iustum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus. Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse adflictum et profligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se perculsum atque abiectum esse sentit, et retorquet

oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quae quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.

II 3 Ac si quis est talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emiserim, non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperii severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, qui quae ego deferrem non crederent? quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? Ac si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum iudicarem, iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam 4 vitae periculo sustulissem. Sed cum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata, si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, fore ut eius socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta coeperat, Publicium et Minucium, quorum aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum adferre poterat: reliquit

quos viros! quanto aere alieno, quam valentes, quam nobiles! Itaque ego illum exercitum prae III 5
Gallicanis legionibus et hoc dilectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum [suos milites] eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod quid cogitent me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. Video, cui sit Apulia 6
attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposcerit; omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit: hi quid exspectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

Quod exspectavi, iam sum adsecutus, ut vos IV
omnes factam esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis: nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitati locus; severitatem res ipsa

flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est: si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis eiecerit! Uno mehercule Catilina exhausto levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? Quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subiector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? Quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est? quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Iam vero quae tanta umquam in ullo iuventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adiuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat! Nemo non modo Romae, sed ullo in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus adsciverit. Atque ut eius diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae, nemo in scaena levior et

nequior, qui se non eiusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumeret. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae et tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt, res eos iam pridem, fides nuper deficere coepit: eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quodsi in vino et alea comissationes solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi: hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebrios sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? Qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod, et poenam iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe adpropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae.

Nulla est enim natio quam pertimescamus, nullus rex qui bellum populo Romano facere possit; omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis: cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum: quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo; quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea quae merentur exspectent.

VI 12 At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me eiectum in exsilium esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo adsequi possem, istos ipsos eicerem, qui haec loquuntur. Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium iussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die, Quirites, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli; quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita aspexit ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? quin etiam principes eius ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium eicio, quaesivi a Catilina, in nocturno 13 conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset necne. Cum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus primo

reticuisset, patefeci cetera: quid ea nocte egisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo iam pridem pararet, cum arma, cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. In exsilium eiciebam, quem iam 14 ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant, et ille eiectus in exsilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.

O condicionem miseram non modo adminis- VII trandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abiecerit, et ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus innocens in exsilium eiectus a consule vi et minis dicetur, et erunt qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. Est 15 mihi tanti, Quirites, huius invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis huius horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur.

Dicatur sane eiectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exsilium: sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego a dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae relevandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiatis, sed triduo tamen audietis; multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius quam quod eiecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum esse dicant, eidem, si interfectus esset,
16 quid dicerent? Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc quod agit numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius ut eat in exsilium quam queramur.

VIII
17 Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui iam fatetur se esse hostem et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam

consilii atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam. Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in 18
aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima—sunt enim locupletes,—voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere, adquirere ad fidem? Quid enim exspectas? bellum? Quid ergo? in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? Errant qui istas a Catilina exspectant: meo beneficio tabulae novae proferuntur, verum auctionariae; neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uterentur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.

Alterum genus est eorum, qui quamquam IX 19
premuntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent se id quod conantur consequi posse: primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in

bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam *adesse* multitudinem, magnas praeterea militum copias; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentes auxilium esse laturos. Quod si iam sint id, quod summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, consules se aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse. Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum, quo ex genere iste est Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit: quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio, sed tamen ii sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iactarunt. Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis, familiis magnis, conviviis adparatis delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus: qui etiam nonnullos agrestes homines tenues atque egentes in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono, sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere et proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut iam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.

Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et X
turbulentum, qui iam pridem premuntur, qui nun- 21
quam emergunt, qui partim inertia, partim male
gerendo negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere
aere alieno vacillant, qui vadimoniis, iudiciis, pro-
scriptione bonorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe
et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce
ego non tam milites acres quam infitiatores lentos
esse arbitror. Qui homines quam primum, si stare
non possunt, corruant, sed ita, ut non modo civitas,
sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud
non intellego, quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non
possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore
dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant,
arbitrentur. Quintum genus est parricidarum, 22
sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quos
ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque ab eo
divelli possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio,
quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non
possit. Postremum autem genus est, non solum
numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod
proprium Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero
de complexu eius ac sinu, quos pexo capillo nitidos
aut imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis
et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis, quorum
omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelu-
canis cenis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes 23
aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudi-
cique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati
non solum amare et amari, neque saltare et
cantare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena
didicerunt: qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si

Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim iam noctibus? quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

XI 24 O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus: et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si omissis his rebus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, si his rebus omissis causas ipsas, quae inter se confligunt, contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quam valde illi iaceant, intellegere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo; hinc

continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne, si hominum studia deficiant, di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad XII 26
modum iam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset praesidii, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursione Catilinae, facile urbes suas finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem aut eius omnes motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt atque adeo 27
qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relicti sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id quod latebat erumperet.

Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae; si qui exire volunt, conivere possum: qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cuius ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII 28 Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maximae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos iam 29 omnes salvi esse possitis. Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus: qui iam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes

suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendent. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

ORATIO TERTIA

HABITA AD POPULUM.

I 1 Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona fortunas, coniuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus consiliis periculis meis e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis 2 conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et si non minus nobis iucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio, et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis delubris, tectis ac moenibus subiectos prope iam ignes circumdatosque restinximus, eidemque gladios in rem publicam destrictos rettudimus mucronesque eorum a iugulis vestris 3 deiecimus. Quae quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis iam ex-

ponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta et quam manifesta, et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui et ignoratis et exspectatis, scire possitis.

Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, huiusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus. Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam II eiciebam—non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit,—sed tum, cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam coniuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. Atque ego ut vidi, quos maximo 4 furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestrae provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adiunctum esse T. Volturcium atque huic ad Catilinam esse datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum quod-

que ego semper optabam ab dis immortalibus, ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a
5 vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me 5 vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri placeret ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi 10 in proximis villis ita bipertito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cuiusquam suspicione multos fortes viros eduxerant, et ego ex praefectura Reatina complures delectos adulescentes, quorum opera utor as- 15 sidue in re publica, praesidio cum gladiis miseram.
6 Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum iam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobroges ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res 20 praetoribus erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris.
III Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quae erat commissa, sedatur. Litterae, quaecumque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis praetoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum iam 25 dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi; deinde item accersitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus 30 venit, credo quod in litteris dandis praeter consue-
7 tudinem proxima nocte vigilarat. Cum summis et

clarissimis huius civitatis viris, qui audita re frequentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum deferri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus iniectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quae erant ad me delata, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea statim admo- 8
nitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret, ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.

Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis, fidem pub- IV
licam iussu senatus dedi, hortatus sum ut ea quae sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet; id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum discriptum distributumque erat, incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus coniungeret. Introducti 9
autem Galli ius iurandum sibi et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam

primum mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non defuturas; Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, se esse tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse: eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc annum esse ad interitum huius urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.

V Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri iussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primo ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit; nos linum incidimus, legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese quae eorum legatis confirmasset facturum esse; orare ut item illi facerent quae sibi eorum legati recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abiectus conscientia repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam: recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi, cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. 'Est vero' inquam 'notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos, quae quidem te a

tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.' Le- 11
guntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum
populumque litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere
vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem
negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto iam indicio
exposito atque edito, surrexit, quaesivit a Gallis,
quid sibi esset cum iis, quam ob rem domum suam
venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi
breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad
eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo,
nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum
ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiae vis
esset ostendit: nam cum id posset infitiari, repente
praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum
non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio,
qua semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim sceleris
manifesti atque deprehensi impudentia, qua super-
abat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Volturcius 12
vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri iubet,
quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat.
Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus
tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant
autem sine nomine, sed ita: 'Quis sim, scies ex eo,
quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis et cogita quem
in locum sis progressus: vide, ecquid tibi iam sit
necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungas,
etiam infimorum.' Gabinius deinde introductus,
cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad
extremum nihil ex iis, quae Galli insimulabant,
negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cum illa cer- 13
tissima visa sunt argumenta atque indicia sceleris,
tabellae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque

confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnumquam inter sese aspiciebant, ut non iam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

VI Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictae sunt a principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus. Et quoniam nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, 14 quid senatus censuerit exponam. Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis sit liberata; deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac iure laudantur; atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo, laus impertitur, quod eos, qui huius coniurationis participes fuissent, a suis et rei publicae consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur; itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes praesentes erant, in custodiam traderentur; atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat, in M. Ceparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum, in P. Furium, qui est de iis colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit, in Q. Annium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus, in P. Umbrenum, liberti-

num hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate se- 15
natus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta coniuratione tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem hominum perditissimorum poena re publica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his decreta verbis est, 'quod urbem incendiis, caede cives, Italiam bello liberassem.' Quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam, patefactis indiciis, confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus non modo praetoris ius, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit, ut, quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

Nunc quoniam, Quirites, consceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos iam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinae copias, omnes spes atque opes his depulsis urbis periculis concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassii adipes nec C. Cethegi furiosam teme- VII 16

ritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diu, dum urbis moenibus continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, temptare, sollicitare poterat, audebat; erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat. Iam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Neque vero, cum aliquid mandarat, confectum putabat: nihil erat quod non ipse obiret occurreret, vigilaret laboraret: frigus, sitim,
17 famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam paratum, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulissem, dicam id quod sentio, Quirites, non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset neque tanto ante exitii ac fati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset, neque commisisset ut signum, ut litterae suae testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum umquam sit tam palam inventum, quam haec tanta in re publica coniuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quodsi Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus eius consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos umquam, cum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.

VIII
18 Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me

administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur; idque cum coniectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, tum vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae ita multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, 19
Cotta et Torquato consulibus complures in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum deiectae et legum aera liquefacta et tactus etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum 20
responsis tum et ludi per decem dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quae ad placandos deos pertineret, praetermissa est: eidemque iusserunt simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelso collocare et contra, atque antea fuerat, ad orientem convertere; ac se

sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret, fore ut ea consilia, quae clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud signum collocandum consules illi locaverunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia, quae videmus, praecipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Etenim cum esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia, interitum rei publicae comparari, et ea per cives, quae tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Iovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die mane per forum meo iussu et coniurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia et senatus et vos, quae erant cogitata contra salutem omnium, illustrata et patefacta vidistis.

IX 21

22 Quo etiam maiore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam et non sim ferendus: ille, ille Iuppiter restitit; ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille cunctam urbem, ille vos

omnes salvos esse voluit. Dis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi atque ad haec tanta indicia perveni. Iam vero ab Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer tantae res creditae et ignotis et barbaris commissaeque litterae numquam essent profecto, nisi ab dis immortalibus huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quae gens una restat, quae bellum populo Romano facere posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum maximarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam neglegerent vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus esse factum putatis, praesertim qui nos non pugnando sed tacendo superare potuerint?

X 23 Quam ob rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum coniugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores dis immortalibus iusti habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto iustiores numquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu: erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione; togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, 24 omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: C. Marium, custodem huius urbis, multosque fortes viros partim eiecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius consul armis expulit ex urbe collegam: omnis hic locus acervis corporum

et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario: tum vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est huius victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est, quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo ac fortissimo viro Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterorum. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones erant eius modi, Quirites, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinerent. Non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quae esset, se esse principes, neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla umquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut salvi omnes conservaremini, et, cum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinita e caede restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI 26 Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulabo praeterquam huius diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia condi

et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique eius modi, quod etiam minus digni adsequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur; eandemque diem intellego, quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque tempore in hac re publica duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terrae, sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter eiusdem imperii domicilium sedesque servaret. Sed quoniam earum XII 27
rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque condicio quae illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt, quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi, illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt, vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint providere. Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent ego providi: ne mihi noceant vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis iam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est, magna in re publica dignitas, quae me semper tacita defendet, magna vis conscientiae, quam qui neglegunt, cum me violare volent, se indicabunt. Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, 28
ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quodsi omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit, vobis erit

videndum, Quirites, qua condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus: mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod iam ad vitae fructum possit adquiri, cum praesertim neque in honore vestro neque in gloria virtutis quicquam videam altius, quo mihi
29 lubeat ascendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem, ut, si qua est invidia in conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper quae gesserim, curemque ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam iam est nox, venerati Iovem illum, custodem huius urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam iam est periculum depulsum, tamen aeque ac priore nocte custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis providebo.

ORATIO QUARTA

HABITA IN SENATU.

VIDEO, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum I 1
ora atque oculos esse conversos; video vos non
solum de vestro ac rei publicae, verum etiam, si id
depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est
mihi iucunda in malis et grata in dolore vestra
erga me voluntas, sed eam, per deos immortales,
deponite atque obliti salutis meae de vobis ac de
vestris liberis cogitate. Mihi si haec condicio
consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes
dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum
fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis
laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salus-
que pariatur. Ego sum ille consul, patres con- 2
scripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis aequitas
continetur, non campus, consularibus auspiciis
consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium omnium
gentium, non domus, commune perfugium, non
lectus ad quietem datus, non denique haec sedes
honoris umquam vacua mortis periculo atque
insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli,
multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro
timore sanavi. Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus
mei di immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos popu-
lumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, coniuges

liberosque vestros virginesque Vestales ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim si P. Lentulus suum nomen inductus a vatibus fatale ad perniciem rei publicae fore putavit, cur ego non laeter meum consulatum ad salutem populi Romani prope fatalem exstitisse?
II 3 Quare, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriae, conservate vos, coniuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare, omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi ac mereor relaturos esse gratiam: deinde, si quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari neque misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi et amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abiecta metu filia et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille, qui exspectans huius exitum diei stat in conspectu meo, gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius, quam et illi et nos una rei
4 publicae peste pereamus. Quare, patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae, circumspicite

omnes procellas, quae impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus pl. fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis iudicium adducitur: tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt; tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque confessio: sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, Catilina accersitur, id est initum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur. Haec III 5 omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis iam iudiciis iudicavistis, primum quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum coniurationem patefactam esse decrevistis, deinde quod P. Lentulum se abdicare praetura coegistis, tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus iudicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini; postremo hesterno die praemia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia eius modi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, 6 tamquam integrum, et de facto quid iudicetis et de poena quid censeatis. Illa praedicam, quae sunt consulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari

furorem et nova quaedam misceri et concitari mala iam pridem videbam, sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi coniurationem a civibus numquam putavi. Nunc quidquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis adfines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes et obscure serpens multas iam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando aut prolatando nullo pacto potest: quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV 7 Video adhuc duas esse sententias, unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos, alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intellegit mortem ab dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes numquam inviti, fortes saepe etiam libenter oppetiverunt. Vincula vero et ea sempiterna certe ad singularem poenam nefarii

sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri iubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare: decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, 8
reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suae dignitatis recusare. Adiungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: horribiles custodias circumdat et dignas scelere hominum perditorum. Sancit ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum levare possit: eripit etiam spem, quae sola homines in miseriis consolari solet. Bona praeterea publicari iubet: vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus, quam si eripuisset, multos una dolores animi atque corporis et omnes scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset proposita, apud inferos eius modi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet intellegebant his remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

Nunc, patres conscripti, ego meā video quid V 9
intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quae popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore huiusce sententiae, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram, nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus enim a Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et maiorum eius amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae

in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consulentem. Video de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudius tertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et iudices hesterno die maximis praemiis adfecit. Iam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori gratulationem, iudici praemium decrerit, quid de tota re et causa iudicarit. At vero C. Caesar intellegit, legem Sempronium esse de civibus Romanis constitutam, qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse; denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis iniussu populi poenas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cum de pernicie populi Romani, exitio huius urbis tam acerbe, tam crudeliter cogitarit, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare et sancit in posterum, ne quis huius supplicio levando se iactare et in pernicie populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit: adiungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI 11 Quam ob rem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque iucundum, sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione

populo Romano *purgabo*, atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? ego enim de meo sensu iudico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor—quis enim est me mitior?—sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque inexpultos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis. Cum 12 vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se ex fatis sperasse confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem [virginum] Vestalium perhorresco, et quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebebo. Etenim quaero, si quis pater familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, supplicium de servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore et cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui coniuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulas unius cuiusque nostrum

domos et hoc universum rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis huius urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est.
13 Nisi vero cuipiam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudius tertius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit, cum avum suum *iure* iussu consulis interfectum filiumque eius impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? quod initum delendae rei publicae consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium quaedam contentio. Atque illo tempore huius avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus. Ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica deminueretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego et ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, Italiam totam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severe statuisse videamini: multo magis est verendum, ne remissione poenae crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamur.

Sed ea, quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Iaciuntur enim voces, quae perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur, ut habeam satis praesidii ad ea quae vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia, tum multo etiam maiore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, *omnium generum*, omnium denique aetatum; plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus huius templi ac loci. Causa est enim post urbem conditam haec inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, praeter eos, qui cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno lubenter; neque in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, di immortales, qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt! Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa coniungit: quam si coniunctionem, in consulatu confirmatam meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicae

VII 14

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partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendae rei publicae convenisse video tribunos aerarios fortissimos viros; scribas item universos, quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab exspectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse
16 conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et commune patriae solum cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque iucundum?
VIII Operae pretium est, patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui sua virtute fortunam huius civitatis consecuti vere hanc suam patriam iudicant, quam quidam hic nati et summo nati loco non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse iudicaverunt. Sed quid ego hosce homines ordinesque commemoro, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non quantum audet et quantum potest, conferat
17 ad communem salutem voluntatis. Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum, est id quidem coeptum atque temptatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perditi, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus cotidiani locum, qui non cubile atque lectulum suum, qui

denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, immo vero—id enim potius est dicendum—genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quaestus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quaestus occlusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani praesidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiae coniurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis, vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de coniugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis iudicandum est. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non semper facultas datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium,

IX 18

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quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox paene delerit. Id ne umquam posthac non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque haec, non ut vos, qui mihi studio paene praecurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quae debet esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.

X 20 Nunc antequam ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est coniuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video, sed eam esse iudico turpem et infirmam et abiectam. Quod si aliquando alicuius furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum numquam, patres conscripti, paenitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est adsecutus; ceteris enim bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratulationem decrevistis.

21 Sit Scipio clarus ille, cuius consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque Italia decedere coactus est; ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Karthaginem Numantiamque, delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paulus ille, cuius currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit; sit aeterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur omnibus

Pompeius, cuius res gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostrae gloriae, nisi forte maius est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant quo victores revertantur. Quamquam est uno loco condicio 22 melior externae victoriae quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti [in amicitiam] beneficio se obligatos putant; qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos cum a pernicie rei publicae reppuleris, nec vi coërcere nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quae non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae coniunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.

Quae cum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, XI 23
pro provincia, quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus, quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis proque hac, quam per-

spicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia nihil a vobis nisi huius temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo: quae dum erit in vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitrabor. Quodsi meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium, cui profecto satis erit praesidii non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si eius, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum filium esse memine-
24 ritis. Quapropter de summa salute vestra populique Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet et ea quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum praestare possit.

NOTES.

P. 1. c. 1. § 1. l. 1. *abutere patientia.* It was a bold defiance of the long-suffering of the senate, that even when declared a public *hostis patriae*, Cat. had actually dared to appear in the very meeting of the senate which had been called to adopt measures in opposition to his revolutionary schemes. *Tandem*, 'pray,' inserted, as Quintilian (IX. 27) expresses it, *instandi causa*, is used in just the same way in Sall. Cat. 20. 9: *Quae quo usque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri?* The form in *-re* is the more usual one in Cicero, except in the pres. ind. Roby, § 570. *abutere* is also shown to be a future, by *eludet, iactabit*, &c.

l. 2. *etiam* belongs to *quam diu*, 'still,' as § 10 *vixdum etiam*, Verr. IV. § 9, *nihildum etiam:* so in the connexion *etiam tum, etiam nunc.*

eludet, 'will make a mock of us.' There is no good authority for the omission of *nos*, which makes the construction a much more unusual one: but cp. Donat. to Ter. Eun. I. 1. 10.

l. 3. *quem ad finem*, 'to what limit,' synonymous with *quam diu.* Cic. Verr. V. § 75: *piratam vivum tenuisti? quem ad finem? dum cum imperio fuisti.* Tac. Ann. XIV. 52: *quem ad finem nihil in re publica clarum fore, quod non ab illo reperiri credatur?*

effrenata, 'unrestrained;' for *frenum*, 'the holder,' cp. Corssen, I. 148.

l. 4. *praesidium Palatii.* In the case of any threatening danger the Palatium (=*mons Palatinus*) was occupied, as one of the most important military points in the city. Both Cicero and Catilina had houses on this hill (references in Ramsay's Roman Antiquities, p. 30), and afterwards Augustus, whence the use of our word Palace. *Palatium* may possibly, as Corssen, I. 426, 428 thinks, be derived from a root *pal*, 'to guard,' as the 'fortified' part of the earliest Rome, or from a similar root meaning 'to pasture.' But the latter is less probable.

l. 5. *urbis vigiliae, timor populi.* Cp. Sall. Cat. 30. 7, and 31.

concursus bonorum, 'loyal citizens,' who appeared, in part under arms, before the place where the senate sat, and

were ready with their help. Instead of *concursus*, Quintilian, IX. 3. 30, not so well, reads *consensus*. The orator only mentions such appearances as must have struck the senses. Cicero constantly uses *boni* for the members of his own party, identical with *optimates* and contrasted with *populares:* cp. ad Att. I. 13. 3 with Boot's note, and de Off. II. 43, Beier. See esp. Grote, II. 258.

l. 6. *munitissimus*, § 21 ad fin.

l. 7. *senatus locus*, the temple of Juppiter Stator, which stood near the *sacra via* on the northern slope of the Palatium. Cp. Plut. Cic. 16. For meetings of the senate the temples of the Forum and the Capitol were usually the only ones employed; but on this occasion the temple of Juppiter Stator seems to have been chosen because the mons Palatinus, on whose declivity it stood, was occupied by a military force, perhaps also because it was near Cicero's house, and he did not wish to run any needless risks. The senate could only hold its meetings in a *templum*, i.e. in some consecrated spot, the ordinary council-hall being the *Curia Hostilia* on the N. of the Comitium, Ramsay, p. 218.

l. 8. *constrictam*, 'kept in check,' a favourite metaphor with Cicero, cp. de Orat. I. 46. 202. Acad. I. § 11.

l. 10. *proxima*, which preceded the day of the speech, i.e. the night of the 7th and 8th; *superiore*, the one before this, in which the meeting in the house of Lacca was held. Introduction, note 55.

l. 11. *quos convocaveris*. Sall. c. 17, pro Sull. 52, 53.

§ 2. l. 12. *O tempora, o mores*, an exclamation used by Cic. also in Verr. IV. 56, de Dom. 137, Deiot. 31. S. G. § 472. 'What times are these! What conduct this is!'

l. 14. *Vivit? immo vero: immo* corrects a previous statement as being either quite inaccurate, or as too weak, though true as far as it goes. See Madvig, § 454, S. G. § 886, and especially Ramsay's Mostellaria, Excursus IV. pp. 194 sqq.

l. 15. *in senatum venit*, as a *vir praetorius* he had the right to do this.

l. 16. *unum quemque nostrum*, not 'all of us' but 'each individual from our midst,' i.e. those whom he regarded as the principal opponents of his plans. *nostrum* is almost always used partitively, *nostri* objectively. For exceptions to this rule cp. Madvig, § 297 c, and obs.

P. 2. l. 1. *iussu consulis*, by virtue of the decree of the senate *darent operam consules ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet*. Introd. § 14. Notice the emphatic position of *ad mortem* and of *in te*.

l. 2. *conferri*, an expression intentionally selected, and to be taken literally. 'to be brought upon you from all sides.'

§ 3. l. 3. *An vero...interfecit:* co-ordinated, in order to bring out the contrast more forcibly, while we should supplement the first clause with 'while.' Cp. p. Sulla, § 32: *An vero clarissimum virum generis vestri ac nominis nemo reprehendit, qui filium suum vita privavit, ut in ceteros firmaret imperium; tu rem publicam reprehendis quae domesticos hostes, ne ab iis ipsa necaretur, necavit?* Quintil. VIII. 4. 13: *augendi gratia non tota modo totis, sed etiam partes partibus comparantur, sicut hoc loco...et Catilina Graccho et status rei p. orbi terrarum et mediocris labefactatio caedi et incendiis et vastationi et privatus consulibus comparatur.* See note on § 17. l. 6.

l. 4. *P. Scipio, Nasica* surnamed *Serapio*, consul 138, a great-grandson of the Cn. Scipio, who fell with his brother in Spain in 212. Cp. Mommsen, III. 94, 95. Nasica commenced the attack upon Ti. Gracchus and his party, but P. Saturnius and L. Rufus claimed to have been the actual murderers.

l. 5. *mediocriter labefactantem*, a mild expression chosen for rhetorical effect, as in § 4 of C. Gracchus, in order to bring out the more forcibly the contrast between them, and the plans of Catilina. Cicero's language about the Gracchi varies with the exigencies of his case. Cp. de leg. Agr. 2. 5. 10, and de Off. II. 12. 43, and for a good judgment of their aims and characters, see Dean Merivale's Fall of the Roman Republic.

l. 6. *privatus* because at this time (B.C. 133) he held no magisterial office. The pontiffship, a permanent dignity, was not considered a magistratus. *orbis terrae* does not seem to differ at all in meaning from *orbis terrarum;* but the latter is the more usual expression. Both expressions are found very near each other in § 9.

l. 8. *illa antiqua.* The plural is employed to intimate that other cases besides that of Ahala could have been mentioned. But as the MSS. have *quodque Servilius*, Richter supposes, not without probability, that a clause with *quod* has fallen out.

l. 9. *Servilius Ahala.* Liv. Per. IV.: *cum fame p. R. laboraret Sp. Maelius eques frumentum populo R. sua impensa largitus est: et ob id factum conciliata sibi plebe regnum adfectans a C. Servilio Ahala magistro equitum iussu Quinctii Cincinnati dictatoris occisus est* (B.C. 439). Cp. Arnold's Hist. Rome, I. 356—359.

l. 10. *ista* is somewhat unusually employed here to refer to facts mentioned by the speaker himself, as in § 22, II. 18.

l. 13. *senatus cons.* Introd. § 14.

l. 15. *rei publicae.* Dative, which we must supply also to *nos, consules desumus.* The senate, says Cicero, both as an advising (*consilium*) and an empowering authority (*auctoritas*) has done its part, but the executive is wanting in energetic decision.

auctoritas is not used here in its strict technical sense of a resolution of the senate vetoed by a tribune and therefore not a *consultum*, but in its general sense of 'sanction.'

c. II. § 4. l. 18. *L. Opimius*, consul in B.C. 121. The text of the decree of the senate is given by Cicero, Phil. VIII. § 14: *quod L. Opimius consul verba fecit de re publica, de ea re ita censuerunt, uti L. Opimius consul rem publicam defenderet.* Contrary to the usual custom, these full powers were conferred upon one consul only, because at the time the other, Q. Fabius Maximus, held the command in southern Gaul, afterwards the *Provincia.*

l. 22. *clarissimo patre.* His father was Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who was consul twice (B.C. 177 and 163) and Censor (169), and twice enjoyed a triumph, in B.C. 178 over the Celtiberians and in 175 over the Sardinians: cp. Mommsen, III. 87. See also the curious story about him in de Divin. I. 18. 36. *avo;* the father of his mother, the celebrated Cornelia, was P. Scipio Africanus, maior, as Velleius Pat. (II. 2. 1) says of the brother of Gaius: *P. Africani ex filia nepos.* With ablatives such as these we must supply in English some substantive or adjective: e.g. 'sprung from,' or better translate 'the son, the grandson and the descendant of most eminent men.' Cp. Tusc. I. 35. 85: *Metellus ille honoratis quattuor filiis,* 'Metellus, the father of four sons who had all attained office:' Nägelsbach, § 52. 2.

l. 23. *cum liberis,* two sons, cp. note on IV. § 13.

Simili senatus cons. Cic. p. Rab. perd. reo, § 20: *fit Senatus, ut C. Marius L. Valerius consules adhiberent tribunos pl. et praetores, quos iis videretur, operamque darent, ut imperium p. R. maiestasque conservaretur. Adhibent omnes tribunos pl. praeter Saturninum, praetores praeter Glauciam: qui rem p. salvam vellent, arma capere et se sequi iubent, etc.* (B.C. 100). Marius was obliged to interpose against his democratic confederate L. Appuleius Saturninus, when his bands of followers, in order to carry the election of C. Servilius Glaucia, a man of equally violent conduct, as consul, had beaten to death on the very Campus Martius his rival C. Memmius. Cp. note to III. § 15. Mommsen, III. 210. 216. Merivale, Fall of Roman Republic, pp. 64—69.

l. 25. *permissa res est.* The phrase in Phil. VIII. § 15 is *C. Mario L. Valerio coss. Senatus rem publ. defendendam dedit.*

num...remorata est, the whole thought = eodem die interfecti sunt: *remorata est,* 'has kept back, caused to wait,' as Auct. ad Her. IV. 36, 48: *aliquid cotidie acerbi atque incommodi nuntiatur, et eum, cuius opera nobis haec accidunt, vos* (iudices) *remoramini diutius et alitis ad rei p. perniciem.* Cp. too Prop. I. 19, 17: *quamvis te longae remorantur fata senectae.* The expression suggests that those criminals must long have expected death, which kept them waiting for his appearance only until the senatus consultum followed: *ac rei p. poena* is added to *mors* in order to bring into special prominence the fact that death was a punishment decreed against them by the state. Cp. pro Mur. § 89, *nova poena legis,* 'inflicted by the law.' We should omit 'and;' 'death, the penalty inflicted by the state.'

postea, which might have been omitted, intimates precisely that not even one day longer elapsed between the decree of the senate and the action of the consuls.

l. 27. *At vero,* 'but we assuredly.'

l. 28. *vicesimum iam diem:* in round numbers (*tempore summatim comprehenso*), for it was only the 18th day since the Scrum of the 22nd of October was passed. Cp. Introd. § 16, and especially note 55.

l. 29. *horum auctoritatis,* the full powers given us by the senate. *aciem,* 'the edge.'

l. 31. *tabulis* (i.e. *publicis*), 'records:' cp. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, III. 1016.

P. 3, l. 1. *convenit:* cp. pro Sulla, § 10, *hoc totum eius modi est, iudices, ut, si ego sum inconstans ac levis, nec testimonio fidem tribui convenerit nec defensioni auctoritatem. Senatus consulto* is practically one word: hence the position of *ex.*

et vivis in rhetorical language for *et quidem* or *idque,* 'ay, and.'

l. 3. *patres conscripti,* 'senators,' probably 'enrolled fathers.' The current explanation as for 'patres et conscripti' is very doubtful. See note on Hor. A. P. 314.

cupio...videri, rhetorically in the anaphorical form (S. G. § 946) instead of the logical: *cupio me esse clementem neque tamen dissolutum videri.* For the acc. and inf. with a verb of wishing instead of the nom. without the pronoun expressed, cp. Kühner, Lat. Gr. II. § 127 n. 4; Roby, § 1351.

It is most common with a passive infinitive: *esse* here almost equals 'to be accounted.' Cp. p. Arch. § 10: *hic, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, reicietur;* de Legg. I. § 4: *et mehercule ego me cupio non mendacem putari.*

l. 4. *dissolutum,* 'remiss, forgetful of duty;' synonymous with *neglegens.* Cp. Verr. 3. § 162, *quoniam pater tam neglegens ac dissolutus est;* de Off. I. 28. 99, *neglegere quid de se quisque sentiat, non solum arrogantis est, sed omnino dissoluti,* and p. Quinctio, 11, 38.

§ 5. l. 7. *in Etruriae faucibus,* i.e. near Faesulae (=Fiesole), which lies on a spur of the western slope of the Appennines, about five miles from Florence. Cp. Sall. Cat. 24. 27.

l. 11. *cotidie.* See Corssen, I. p. 175: 'the spelling *cottidie* is older and better established than *cotidie:* for *quotidie* there is no good authority;' cp. too Quintil. I. 7. 6, where the codex Ambros. has *cottidie,* though Halm writes *cotidie.* For the distinction between *in dies singulos,* always used where some word of comparative force accompanies it, and *cotidie,* used of daily repetition merely, cp. ad Att. v. 7. 1, *cotidie vel potius in dies singulos breviores litteras ad te mitto,* with Hand's good explanation: 'litterae, quas ad te cotidie mitto non modo breviores sunt quam olim, sed cum unoquoque die breviores fiunt.' Tursell. III. p. 342.

l. 12. *iam,* 'now, at once,' departing from my procedure hitherto.

l. 13. *credo,* ironically = *non erit mihi verendum.* Instead of the rendering 'I shall have to fear, I suppose, that all patriots should not declare this too late, rather than any one at all too cruel,' we should rather say in another form 'certainly it is more likely that all patriots will consider this action of mine too late, than that any one should consider it too cruel.'

l. 15. *dicat:* the verb by a usual attraction is drawn to the clause which contains the comparison, as in Cic. Phil. IV. § 9: *quis illum igitur consulem nisi latrones putant?* Madv. § 217, obs. 2.

l. 16. *certa de causa,* which Cic. immediately mentions in the contrasted clause *tum denique,* &c.

l. 18. *interficiere,* so the best MSS. for *interficium te,* by which expression the orator would have given offence.

§ 6. l. 20. *quisquam,* 'any one at all,' used in cases where 'the barest minimum is sufficient to justify a statement,' Roby, § 2278; Madvig, Gr. § 494 b. 'Dubitationem indicat, an talis futurus sit,' Matth. For this use of *quisquam* cp. Madvig's

notes on de Fin. III. § 29. § 70, IV. § 45 (notissimum est, in huiusmodi condicione generali, in qua satis sit omnino vel de uno affirmari, dici *si quisquam*), § 54, &c.

l. 23. *obsessus*, 'beset,' a better reading than *oppressus*, 'crushed.'

l. 26. *custodient*, 'watch over.'

c. III. l. 26. *Etenim quid est*, &c. gives the reason for the clause *sed vives*, &c.

l. 29. *continere*=intus servare. *paries*, properly, 'the wall of a house,' usually, but not always, 'a party-wall:' *murus* is the general term for 'a wall,' sometimes used distinctively of 'a city wall,' as in § 11; but the special term for this is *moenia*. Cp. Doed. Synon. in vocc. (his derivations, however, are absurd) and Tac. Ann. XV. 43: *Nero instituit ut urbis domus non communione* parietum, *sed propriis quaeque* muris *ambirentur*.

voces coniurationis=voces coniuratorum. See note on § 13. l. 2.

l. 31. *mihi crede*, i.e. that it is time (*muta* iam) to do so, so that *mihi crede* is practically equivalent to *me sequere*, as in Hor. Serm. II. 6. 93, *Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes*. *Mihi crede* is very common in Cic. *Crede mihi* is common in other writers, but is said to be found only four times in Cic. Cp. Mayor on Phil. II. § 34.

P. 4. l. 1. *nobis tua*. There is a strong tendency in Latin prose to attract pronouns to each other, even at the risk of drawing one of them out of its natural place: cp. in this speech p. 6, l. 13, p. 8, l. 25, p. 16, l. 2.

l. 2. *licet*, 'you may.' S. G. § 672. It is erroneous to suppose that *ut* is omitted in such cases.

§ 7. l. 3. *in senatu*, Introd. § 16.

l. 4. *ante diem*, S. G. p. 353.

l. 5. *C. Manlium*, Introd. §§ 12 and 15, and note to II. § 20.

l. 6. *satelles*, a word of unknown origin: Corssen traces it ultimately to the root found in the Germ. *Gesinde*, O.E. *gesith*. On the twin expression *satellitem atque administrum*, where the rarer and more poetical word is explained by the synonym which follows it, see Sandys' note on *αὐτόχειρας καὶ φονέας*, Isocr. Paneg. § 111, and the exx. there quoted.

l. 10. *caedem optim.* Introd. note 49. *Optimates* is the only word in *-at-* that makes its genitive plur. in *-ium*, except proper names. Weissenborn in Livy prints *civitatium*, and some edd. give *inmunitatium* in Cic. de Off. III. § 75, but this is not so good. See Roby, § 445; Madvig, § 41. 1 f.

l. 12. *non tam sui conservandi* is introduced in order to modify the public censure which the orator expresses, for he did not venture to break with the aristocratic party. The fact itself is only known from this passage. *sui conservandi causa* =ad se conservandos. On *sui* (neut. gen. sing.) cp. Roby, § 1395; S. G. § 550; Madv. § 297 b. and § 417.

l. 13. *tuorum consiliorum reprimend.* That even rhetorical language did not shrink from a succession of such genitives is shown by passages such as pro Rosc. Am. § 103, *illorum ipsorum bonorum*, pro Mil. § 64, in Cat. IV. § 20, in Verr. IV. § 126, V. § 121, pro Mur. § 21, *operarum harum cotidianarum*, &c. There was a real disappointment of the *consilia* of Catilina, in so far as the objects of the intended *caedes* were removed from his reach.

l. 15. *diligentia* of the consul, 'heedfulness, watchfulness,' as I. §§ 11, 32, II. 14, IV. §§ 5, 14, 23 and I. 19: *ad custodiendum diligentissimum.*

l. 17. *discessu ceterorum:* 'upon the departure of the rest:' the verbal substantive is used instead of an ablative absolute in order to supply the deficiency of a past participle. Cp. ad Att. I. 16, 5, *summo discessu bonorum*, 'when the well-disposed had almost entirely withdrawn.' Nägelsb. § 97. 1.

nostra qui, as in pro Sulla, §§ 79 and 80. Cp. Ter. Andr. I. 1. 71 and Don. L. G. p. 263.

§ 8. l. 19. *Praeneste*, a town S.E. of Rome (the present Palestrina), the occupation of which would have secured for Catilina one of the strongest points in Latium (cp. Strabo, V. 3. 11). Praeneste was the stronghold of the Marian party in the civil war with Sulla: Mommsen, III. 336—341. This notice also we know from Cicero alone.

l. 21. *meis praesidiis. meis* has been suspected as an interpolation from § 7. Cic. brings into prominence the fact that it was he who had provided for these *praesidia.*

l. 23. *quod non:* the negative after *quod* (*nihil quod non* = *omnia*) embraces the whole of the following clause. We may translate *non modo* 'I will not say,' or turn more freely 'There is not one of your actions, your attempts or your thoughts which I do not merely hear of, but actually see.' Notice the climax in *agis—moliris—cogitas.*

c. IV. l. 25. *tandem*, 'however, still;' with these words the orator wishes to do away with any further doubt about the completeness of his knowledge. *noctem superiorem*, see on § 1 Introd. n. 55.

l. 26. *iam intelleges.* We generally connect the future result of an action recommended with the injunction itself by

and ('go through *and* you will recognize'); Cicero always leaves the future to follow without a conjunction, whether it is accompanied by or without the particle of time *iam* or *tum:* cp. pro Sulla, §§ 5, 71. Later writers insert or omit it indifferently: thus Sen. Ep. 4. § 6, *recognoscere et intelleges.* Cp. Madv. Opusc. II. 162 and Juv. I. 155, with Mayor's note, and his Cic. Phil. II. § 104.

l. 27. *ad,* 'with a view to.'

l. 28. *Dico,* put first with special force: 'I assert.'

priore, 'the night before last,' that which preceded this last (*haec* or *proxima nox*) as a change for *superiore.*

inter falcarios, 'in the street of the sickle makers,' as perhaps in Isocr. Areopag. § 48: *ἐν ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν, in loco, in quo habitant tibicinae.* The context however shows that here the words may be well translated 'in the midst of flute-girls.' But cp. Liv. XXXV. 43, *inter lignarios.* Pro Sull. § 52.

l. 29. *in M. Laecae d.* Introd. § 17.

l. 30. *sceleris,* 'recklessness,' as the word is always to be understood when in connexion with abstract substantives: cp. I. §§ 15, 18, 33, II. §§ 11, 25, 29, &c.

P. 5. § 9. l. 2. *ubinam gentium sumus?* This phrase, which corresponds to our own 'where in the world are we?' occurs almost solely in rhetorical language and in the vigorous style of the comic writers.

l. 5. *sanctissimo consilio,* Hor. Carm. IV. 5. 3, *patrum sancto consilio.* Liv. XXX. 16. 3, *id erat sanctius apud illos consilium.* Val. Max. II. 6. 4, *sanctissimum consilium* of the Areopagus. Madv. § 284, obs. 10. Cp. Phil. IV. 6. 14, *senatum, id est, orbis terrae consilium delere gestit;* de Orat. III. 2, *videndum sibi aliud consilium* with my note. The student should carefully distinguish *consilium,* root *sel-* or *sol-* as in *solium,* 'a throne,' *con-sul,* &c. identical with *sed-,* in *sedes, sedeo,* &c. (for the interchange of *d* and *l,* cp. *δάκρυ* and *lacruma, dingua* and *lingua, ol-ere* and *od-or,* Brugm. I. 282), and *concilium* from *cal-are.* The former denotes 'a select body of advisers,' the latter 'a large general meeting.'

l. 6. *nostro omnium,* as in IV. 4, *ad vestram omnium caedem.* This use of a genitive to agree with the genitive implied in the possessive adjective is sometimes carried so far that we have a gen. sing. agreeing with the *mei* implied in *noster:* e.g. Ov. Ep. Heroid. V. 45, *et flesti et nostros vidisti flentis ocellos.* Cp. Phil. II. 43. 111, *tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus.*

l. 7. *adeo de: de* repeated, as in pro Cluent. § 79, *C. Junium—clamore de loro atque adeo de civitate esse sublatum.*

On *adeo*, 'up to that point,' 'in fact,' cp. Ramsay, Mostell. Exc. I. pp. 177 sqq.

l. 7. *qui cogitent*, 'men so infamous as to think.'

l. 8. *ego*. I, the consul.

l. 9. *nondum voce vulnero*, because he neither pointed them out by name, nor interposed with a judicial accusation. Cp. Cic. Phil. II. § 86, *haec te...lacerat, haec cruentat oratio*.

l. 10. *igitur* with a reference back to the question *num negare audes*, which Cat. had left unanswered, and thereby had not denied the fact.

l. 13. *discripsisti*, cp. pro Sulla, § 52, in Cat. II. § 6, III. § 14. The Latin writers say *discribere* not *describere* where the fundamental meaning is *distribuere, dividere, disponere*. Cp. III. 8.

l. 15. *paulum*. MS. authority seems to show that usage was in favour of this form, but the derivation from *paur-los* (Brugmann, I. 219, II. 193) shows that *paullus* was the earlier spelling. Cp. Corssen, I.² p. 532.

etiam nunc. It is usual for *nunc* to be changed into *tum* in reported speech after a past verb. But here Catilina's own word is retained for the sake of vividness.

l. 16. *duo equites:* one was C. Cornelius, whom Cic. pro Sulla, §§ 18 and 52, mentions by himself; the other, according to Sall. c. 18, was a senator L. Vargunteius. We may perhaps suppose that he had lost his seat in the senate by reason of a condemnation *de ambitu* (see pro Sulla, § 17, with Scholiast quoted in Halm's note): at any rate, Cic. pro Sulla, § 6, mentions such a *iudicium*, in which, he says, Vargunteius had been almost entirely abandoned by the senatorial party.

l. 18. *lectulo*, hardly to be distinguished from *lecto*, see on IV. § 17.

§ 10. l. 19. *virdum etiam*, see on § 1.

l. 20. *comperi;* cp. § 27. l. 27, and note there.

l. 22. *salutatum mane*, 'to pay their morning call,' as was usual with clients and friends in a humbler position. Cp. Becker, Gallus, p. 227.

l. 24. *id temporis*. The accusative in this idiom denotes a point of time, not duration. Cp. Roby, § 1092; S. G. § 469; Madvig, § 238.

c. v. § 11. l. 25. *Quae cum ita sint*. Upon the logical connexion of the following asyndeta, employed in impassioned language, see Nägelsbach, § 201, where almost the whole chapter is excellently analysed.

l. 31. *murus intersit*. Plut. Cic. 16: 'At last Cicero rose and bade him leave the city; for, while he himself carried on his political contests by words, and Catilina by arms, there

must needs be the city-wall between them.' Cp. note on § 6. l. 24. *versari*, Nägelsb. § 110.

l. 32. *non feram, non patiar, non sinam.* In order to express the thought 'I will not endure it under any circumstances' with as much force as possible, Cic. has used three synonymous verbs in the form of an anaphora, i.e. the repetition of a word at the beginning of several sentences or members of a sentence (Nägelsb. § 169, S. G. § 946), which gives yet additional emphasis. It may be well translated 'I cannot, I will not, I shall not endure it.'

P. 6. l. 1. *atque huic:* a union of the class and the individual, as often in Greek; e.g. in the familiar Homeric phrase, Τρώας τε καὶ Ἕκτορα. Notice the special force in *huic ipsi*. The orator points to the statue of the god in whose temple the senate was assembled.

l. 2. *antiquissimo* because of the dedication of the temple by Romulus: see Liv. I. 12.

l. 5. *in uno homine periclitanda*, a phrase used in Greek also; e.g. Luc. Iupp. Trag. c. 4, τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ κινδυνεύεται. Thucyd. II. 35, &c. The force of the preposition is made clear by translating: 'it must not more frequently depend upon one man that the existence of the state should be in peril.'

l. 9. *comitiis cons.* Introd. § 14.

l. 10. *in campo*, sc. Martio.

competitores. D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, who were elected, and the learned jurisconsult Servius Sulpicius.

l. 12. *nullo tumultu publice concitato*, 'without exciting any alarm of war on the part of the state,' hence equivalent to 'without any public summons to arms.' *Publice* always = 'by public authority,' as Phil. IX. § 17, *publice sepulchrum datum*, and Plaut. Mil. Gl. 101, *is publice legatus Naupactum fuit magnai rei publicai gratia*, and not 'publicly,' which is *palam*. Cp. II. §§ 26, 28, III. § 4 (with note) and pro Sulla, § 33. *Tumultus* is used in a different sense in III. § 7, where it has the extended force of 'internal disquiet, anxiety.'

l. 13. *per me*, i.e. *meis copiis*, in opposition to *publicis*.

§ 12. l. 19. *quod est primum:* we say 'which would be the first thing to do:' *huius imperii*, i.e. not merely the *potestatis consularis*, but we must understand it of the extraordinary authority conferred by the resolution *videant consules*, &c., an authority which of itself gave the power of life and death, but only derived from the senate, as in II. § 3, pro Sulla, § 21.

l. 22. *ad severitatem = si severitatem spectes*, 'as regards

severity:' a form used, for the sake of rhetorical neatness of expression, to correspond with *ad communem salutem utilius.*

l. 26. *sentina rei p.*, to be taken as one conception, coupled with a second genitive of explanation (epexegetic): 'the refuse of the state *consisting in* your companions:' cp. de Off. I. 14. 43, Madv. § 286. '*Sentina reip.* est quae residet in rep. tanquam in navi. Huic respexisse videtur Quint. VIII. 6. 15. Cicero recte sentinam reip. dixit foeditatem hominum significans.' Matth. Cp. ad Att. I. 19. 4, *sentinam urbis exhauriri;* and de leg. agrar. II. 70, *nimirum id est, quod ab hoc tribuno plebis dictum est in senatu, urbanam plebem in re p. nimium posse,* exhauriendam *esse; hoc enim verbo est usus, quasi de aliqua* sentina, *ac non de optimorum civium genere loqueretur.*

§ 13. l. 28. *faciebas* for *facere volebas*, as one MS. from a gloss actually reads. Cp. II. § 44, *eiciebam*, and Verr. v. § 129. *veniebant*, 'they were ready to come.' S. G. § 606; Madv. § 337, obs. 1.

l. 30 *num in exsilium*, 'not into exile, I suppose?'

P. 7. c. VI. l. 2. *coniurationem*, in a concrete sense, 'band of conspirators:' cp. *advocatio*, pro Sulla, § 81. *Servitium* is constantly used in the same way. Cp. § 6, Cic. ad Fam. IX. 20. 3, *ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo.* Nägelsb. § 11 (p. 67).

l. 3. *domestica turpitudo* comprises the scandals of his home and family life; *dedecus privatarum rerum*, the disgraceful nature of his private life (in relation to others), the effects of which extend beyond the more limited circle of the family. *nota*='brand.'

l. 7. *flagitium*, 'scandalous vice.'

l. 8. *cui adulescentulo.* See Sall. Cat. 14. § 5 f. The diminutive form is employed to denote a weak youth easily misguided. For the orthography cp. Ritschl, Proleg. p. XCV., 'certissimo autem consilio (*u* tuitus sum) in *adulescens* cuius vicariam formam vix umquam boni libri sine discrepantia agnoscunt.'

l. 10. *facem praetulisti.* The figure is taken from slaves, who light their masters home at night with a torch. The torch of Catilina did not merely show the way, but it served also to inflame more fiercely sensual lusts.

§ 14. l. 12. *vacuefecisses*, a charge which neither Sallust nor any other writer brings forward.

alio scelere. Sall. Cat. 15, *postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cuius praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta aetate, pro certo traditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa*

fuisse facinoris maturandi. Statements like these should be read in the light of Sallust's own admission elsewhere (c. 22): *nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existimabant ab his qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.* How inconsistent this is with other odious charges is shown by Ihne, VI. 208, n. 1.

l. 15. ***non vindicata:*** this was possible, inasmuch as the Roman criminal law required the action of a prosecutor, and if no prosecutor made his appearance, the state or the magistrates did not bring a case to trial. The speaker complains of it, as a sign of a deeply corrupt time, that even in the case of such a crime no one had ventured to prosecute Catilina. It may also be proof of the weakness of the evidence on which the charge was based.

esse videatur, a phrase that became a commonplace of rhetoric: cp. Quintil. IX. 4. 73 (Halm) '*esse videatur,' iam nimis frequens*, and esp. X. 2. 18, *otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius produxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem loquturum fuisse. noveram quosdam, qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis huius in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent* esse videatur. Cp. also Dial. de Oratt. c. 23, Sandys on Orat. 217. *esse videtur* on the other hand is always avoided, as forming a hexametrical close. See Zumpt, § 819. In Romola c. VII. the saying of Quintilian is alluded to, but the point is exactly inverted.

l. 17. ***proximis Idibus senties.*** After his undertaking has once been considered an entire failure, on the next Ides, all sums that he had borrowed would certainly be called in. If this happens, Cat. must feel on the Ides that the complete forfeiture of his mortgaged property will follow unavoidably on the following Kalends, the usual day of payment. Cp. Horat. Serm. I. 3. 87, *cum miserae venere Kalendae.* Epod. II. 69, *Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam | quaerit Kalendis ponere* (with Orelli's note).

l. 18. ***ad privatam ignominiam,*** the personal disgrace which attaches to your vices.

l. 19. ***difficultatem.*** Verr. IV. § 11, *quaerendum est, num tanta difficultas eum res nummariae tenuerit.*

l. 20. ***ad summam rem p.,*** 'to the public welfare, the condition of the state,' as in pro Rosc. Amer. § 148, *summa res p. in huius periculo temptatur.* Hence the conception passes quite into the meaning 'the supreme danger of the state,' as III. § 13. *consului, de summa re p. quid fieri placeret,* pro Sest. § 24, *omnes cives summae rei p. a consulibus petendum esse auxilium arbitrabantur,* pro Sull. § 67.

§ 15. l. 23. *spiritus*, 'breath, air.' Cp. IV. § 7, *hoc communi spiritu.*

l. 25. M. Aemilio *Lepido*, C. Volcatio *Tullo coss.*, in the year 66, on the day before the intended murder of the newly-elected consuls Cotta and Torquatus; see Introd. § 5.

in comitio. The singular denotes that part of the Forum which was used for assemblies of the people (see Ramsay, pp. 12—16), situated in front of the Curia on the northern side of the Forum towards its western end. It was consecrated by the augurs, which the remainder of the Forum was not. Cp. Richter, Topographie von Rom, p. 784.

l. 28. *mentem aliquam*, 'any reflection.' '*Aliquis* in sententiis negantibus ponitur, quando de re sermo est, quae revera est vel cogitari saltem possit, ut h. l. *non mentem* aliquam, quam certe suspicari aliquis possit.' Matth.

l. 30. *neque...postea* = nam et nota sunt et multa (alia) postea a te commissa.

P. 8. l. 1. *petitiones*, the technical term for the cuts and thrusts of the gladiators: see Cic. Orat. § 228, *ut enim athletas nec multo secus gladiatores videmus nihil nec vitando facere caute, nec petendo vehementer, in quo non motus hic habeat palaestram quandam*, &c.

l. 3. *corpore*, with the motion of the body, not by defensive armour: cp. Curtius, VI. 1. 4, *alia tela clipeo, corpore alia vitabat.*

§ 16. l. 6. *elapsa est.* After these words the MSS. insert the clause *tamen ea carere diutius non potes*, which has been seen to be an interpolation from § 24.

l. 7. *quae quidem quibus:* the juxtaposition of the relative and indirect interrogative is foreign to our idiom and must be avoided in translation by resolving the relative, 'and indeed I know not...this,' &c.

l. 8. *devota sit*, in order to be dedicated to a god after the successful accomplishment of an intended murder, which was often the case in antiquity with weapons by which an important murder had been accomplished. Cp. Tac. Ann. XV. 74, *ipse eum pugionem apud Capitolium sacravit inscripsitque Iovi Vindici.* Other exx. in Orelli ad loc.

c. VII. l. 10. *nunc vero*, when from the disgrace which you have just experienced, it must be clear to you how despised you are.

l. 12. *nulla* before *debetur* is not exactly put for *non*, but inasmuch as *misericordia tibi nulla debetur* could have been said correctly, the stronger *nulla* ('which is *in no way* due to you') is retained also in the relative clause. Other construc-

tions of the kind, like *nullus dixeris* (instead of *ne dixeris*), belong to the language of the comic writers, i.e. to the popular speech. Cicero uses *nullus* in this way in his letters (e.g. ad Att. XI. 15. 22, *Sextus ab armis nullus discedit*) and in his dialogues (e.g. de Orat. I. § 51), but not in his speeches. See Nägelsb. § 82, 2.

l. 16. *contigit nemini.* As *contingere* according to its original meaning denotes what fits or coincides (προσήκει), it is not used exclusively though usually of fortunate events: cp. ad Fam. XI. 16. 2, *L. Lamia,—a Gabinio consule relegatus est, quod ante id tempus civi Romano Romae contigit nemini.* Mayor on Phil. II. 17, Seyffert or Reid on Lael. 8. Its *primary* meaning is the indication of some connexion between the occurrence and the person, so that which has happened might have been expected under the circumstances. See de Nat. Deor. I. 27, II. § 17.

vocis—taciturnitatis in elevated rhetorical language for *loquentium—tacitorum*, as it is expressed in § 20 ad fin.

l. 18. *Quid? quod*, literally, 'what shall we say of the fact that' (cp. Madv. § 479 d. obs. 1): a favourite mode of transition with Cicero in rapid rhetorical questions.

l. 19. *tibi constituti fuerunt.* This dative is often found with *constitutus*, as Verr. I. § 42: *ut omnia vobis, quae mihi constituta sunt* (which I have determined upon for myself) *possim exponere;* ad Att. VII. 7. 4: *audio constitutum esse Pompeio*, that it was a settled matter for Pompeius. Hence here: 'who were very often destined to slaughter in your mind.' Cp. note to II. § 13 and § 26, IV. § 22. *fuerunt:* this is not the same as *constituti sunt*, as many grammars would suggest. Cp. Roby, § 1453. Madvig, Opusc. II. 218 ff.: 'de discrimine formarum *amatus sum* et *amatus fui* a veteribus et bonis scriptoribus constantissime servato.' Here *const. fuerunt* denotes 'an aorist of the state;' they were once persons marked out for slaughter, but the danger is now past; hence *const. sunt* would not be so appropriate.

§ 17. l. 23. *Servi mehercule*, &c. Quintil. VIII. 4. 9: *amplificatio quae fit per comparationem, incrementum ex minoribus petit. Augendo enim quod est infra necesse est extollat id, quod supra positum est, ut Cicero in Catilinam: Servi me hercule*, &c. The Greeks call this method of argument ἐνθύμημα in the narrower sense, i.e. a rhetorical conclusion, which is drawn from a contrast. Cp. Cope, Introd. to Aristotle's Rhetoric, pp. 101 sq. Quintil. VIII. 5. 9. Cic. Top. § 55: *ex hoc illa rhetorum ex contrariis conclusa, quae ipsi ἐνθυμήματα appellant, non quin omnis sententia proprio nomine ἐνθύμημα dicatur, sed ...quia videtur ea, quae ex contrariis conficitur, acutissima, sola*

proprie nomen commune possedit. We had another example above, § 3. In *Mehercule* we probably have a vocative form (Corssen, I.² 140) with a final *s* lost (not from a nomin. *Herculius* as Bréal says), rather than a clipt form of the nom.=*me Hercules iuvet.* The latter view however is taken by Roby, S. G. § 417, and by Sandys on Cic. Orat. § 157, where Cic. says *libentius dixerim 'mehercule' quam 'mehercules';* in his speeches we have *mehercule* 32 times, *mehercules* 5 times.

l. 24. *omnes.* Because Cic. does not recognise the fellow-conspirators of Catilina any more as citizens: see § 28.

l. 27. *offensum*=invisum, odiosum. So *offensum et invisum*, p. Sest. 125.

l. 28. *infestus* cannot be another form of *infensus*, as Corssen (Beitr. p. 182) and Vaniček, p. 391, hold: there seems to be no sufficient reason why **in-fend-tus* should assume two different forms. It is better to connect it with *ferio*: Roby, I. 220 n. The common translation 'hostile' is often unsuitable: the primary meaning is 'brought into collision with:' *infesto exercitu*='with an invading force.'

P. 9, l. 3. *aliquo*, 'somewhither,' whithersoever it may be, as below § 20: *abire in aliquas terras.*

nunc: like the Greek *νῦν δέ*, 'but now, but as it is,' denoting the real actual conditions in opposition to those imagined which, according to the ancient conceptions, lie in the realm of the past.

l. 5. *nihil cogitare=de nulla re,* as in pro Sull. § 65: *parricidio* for *interitu*, because it refers to the *patria*, the *communis parens*, as pro Sull. § 6: cp. also § 29: *parricidia civium*, and Phil. II. § 31, *conicteor eos...plus quam sicarios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam* parricidas *esse. Si quidem est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum occidere.* The older form of the word is *paricida*, adopted by Mommsen, I. 158, &c. Mr Roby, I. p. 391, derives the word from *par*, 'like,' and there seems to be no analogy for the assimilation of *patri-* to *parri-*. On the other hand the quantity is strongly against the connexion with *păr-*. The word is fully discussed by Prof. E. C. Clark in his Early Roman Law.

l. 6. *huius tu*, an asyndeton characteristic of lively rhetorical language: the logical form would have been, *nunc cum te patria oderit, huius tu non verebere?* Cp. Madvig, § 438; Mayor on Phil. II. § 110, l. 6.

l. 7. *sequere*=obtemperabis iudicio quod de te facit.

§ 18. l. 8. *sic agit:* the well-known figure of *προσωποποιία* (as § 27, IV. § 18), which in its wider sense denotes any *personae*

rum ficta inductio, in its narrower sense the introduction of lifeless objects as speaking. Cp. Quintil. IX. 2. 31. *tacita loquitur*, oxymoron: 'pleads with you thus with silent eloquence.'.

l. 11. *civium neces*, Introd. §§ 2 and 11: *vexatio sociorum*, i.e. provincialium: Introd. § 3 f. and § 7. The inhabitants of the conquered provinces were called 'allies,' but this was merely a euphemistic name for 'subjects.'

l. 13. *leges et quaestiones.* Cic. or. in toga cand. II. 1, p. 523, Orell.: *stupris se omnibus ac flagitiis contaminavit, caede nefaria cruentavit, diripuit socios, leges quaestiones iudicia violavit...Quid ego, ut involaveris provinciam, praedicem? nam ut te illic gesseris, non audeo dicere, quoniam absolutus es.* To statements like these we must attach just as much weight as may be due to the unsupported assertions made in an election speech directed against a rival candidate, and only with a view to the exigencies of the moment. Soon after this follow the prophetic words: *O miser, qui non sentias illo iudicio te non absolutum verum ad aliquod severius iudicium ac maius supplicium reservatum.*

l. 14. *evertendas* is only found in one MS. of the third class; the better ones have *evincendas* or *vincendas*, this might possibly be used in the sense of overcoming the obstacles presented by the laws. *perfringendas* is explained by the usual image of *laquei* or *vincula*, which is used of laws.

l. 17. *me totam*, I from one end to the other, in every rank, throughout.

l. 18. *quidquid increpuerit*, 'in every, even the least rumour.' See Nägelsbach, § 362 a, and cp. in Pis. 41. 99: *quidquid increpuisset pertimescentem.*

l. 20. *abhorreat* = absit, in which your villainy has no share.

c. VIII. § 19. l. 26. *in custodiam dedisti*, into a so-called *c. libera* (cp. Sall. 47 ad fin.) when L. Aemilius Paullus had impeached him under the *lex Plautia de vi*: see Introd. § 16. Dio Cassius, XXXVII. 32, says: 'the news brought from the Etrusci [of the open revolt of Manlius] strengthened the charge against them, and supplied the material for an accusation *de vi* against Catilina. And he at first met it very readily indeed, as though his conscience was clear, and pretended to be preparing for the trial, and offered to place himself in the custody of Cicero, that he might not escape to any place. But as Cicero would not undertake to guard him, he volunteered to take up his abode with Metellus the praetor (στρατηγός), that he might escape all suspicion of any revolutionary designs, until he should receive some strong support from his fellow-

conspirators on the spot.' The trial never came off, in consequence of the rapid progress of events, and the ever bolder steps of Catilina.

l. 27. *ad M'. Lepidum*, the consul of B.C. 66. Several of the grammarians cite the passage for the unusual use of *ad* for *apud*. Cp. Verr. Act. I. § 22: *ex his quasi decem fiscos ad senatorem illum relictos esse comitiorum meorum nomine.*

l. 31. *parietibus*, see note on § 6.

l. 32. *tuto*, adv. 'in security.' Ad Fam. XIV. 3. 3, *ut tuto sim.*

P. 10. l. 1. *Q. Metellum*, surnamed *Celer*, consul in B.C. 60. Shortly after this he was entrusted with the task of occupying the Picene and Senonian marches (or. II. § 5, Sall. 30. 42), and when commanding here, blocked up Catilina's road over the Alps (Sall. c. 57) so that he was forced to give battle at Pistoria.

l. 3. *M. Metellum.* This name is found in the MSS. of Quintilian (IX. 2. 45), who quotes the passage because of the irony in the words *optimum virum*, and in three MSS. of Cicero, whilst the rest have *M. Marcellum*, thereby contradicting § 21. l. 10. There is additional reason to suppose that Cicero named a Metellus here, in the fact that Dio in the passage just quoted says that Catilina 'volunteered to take up his abode' with the *praetor* Q. Metellus, and afterwards remarks that 'without the knowledge of Metellus' he attended the meeting at the house of Laeca. It may be conjectured that Dio's incorrect mention of the praetor Metellus arose from a confusion with some other Metellus. But assuming the correctness of the reading adopted, nothing more can be determined as to the person intended. From Cicero's language it is only plain that the man denoted was of no importance, and well known as being weak and simple.

l. 4. *diligentissimum.* Catilina's presence at the gathering in the house of Laeca was enough to show how far this was from being the case.

l. 7. *a carcere atque a vinculis*, the State prison, which was used only for detention and execution, not for penal imprisonment (see note on IV. § 7) in opposition to *custodia*, private custody.

§ 20. l. 9. *emori aequo animo.* You deserve death, at your own hand or at the hand of the executioner; if you are not resolute enough to endure either of these, at any rate submit yourself to civic death [deminutio capitis] by a voluntary exile. *emori* often means 'to die outright.' This passage among others shows that Orelli on Hor. Carm. III. 24. 21 is not right in saying that it is used rather of natural than of

violent death, though in that passage it has very slight authority, and is rejected by good editors. Cp. Kühner on Tusc. i. 98. Sall. Cat. 20, *nonne emori per virtutem praestat?* Catull. LII. 1, *quid moraris emori?*

l. 12. *Refer ad senatum.* As Cic. puts these words into the mouth of Catilina, it appears that the aristocratic party had secretly urged him to go into voluntary exile, in which case they said they would be willing to renounce all further measures against the conspirators. But he did not yield, for he knew only too well how the feeble conservative party shrank from an open conflict with him, and he answered the suggestion with a demand, which he knew beforehand that Cic. would not assent to, as being illegal.

l. 16. *abhorret a meis moribus*, i.e. it is not my way to act with such severity. The true reason was that the senate as such could not pronounce any sentence of exile.

l. 19. *proficiscere.* Here we must suppose a short pause; after which, as deep silence followed, the orator continued: *Quid est, Catilina*, &c.

l. 22. *auctoritatem*, 'expression, indication of wishes.'

§ 21. l. 24. *P. Sestio*, at the time quaestor of the consul C. Antonius (pro Sest. § 8), who as tribune of the commons in B.C. 57 was particularly active for the recall of Cicero from his banishment. He it was whom Cic. defended in B.C. 56 in an action *de vi* in a speech which is still preserved to us, and is one of the most interesting and important of Cicero's orations.

l. 25. *M. Marcello*, the consul in B.C. 51, afterwards known as a bitter opponent of Caesar: on his behalf Cic. addressed to Caesar in the senate in B.C. 46 the speech of thanks still extant.

l. 29. *auctoritas*, with reference to the words § 20: *si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit.*

l. 30. *videlicet*, 'plainly,' ironical.

'*illi* refers to the equites, who were in sight, standing before the temple: see note on IV. § 3.

l. 32. *fortissimi cives*, citizens of the third class, neither senators nor equites.

P. 11. l. 2. *paulo ante*, when you entered the senate, if the words do not refer rather, seeing that they are only inserted with the last clause, to the cries of execration, which might have been heard during the speech; for the senate was held *apertis valvis*. *Exaudire*, 'to hear clearly,' usually employed where there is some hindrance to the complete apprehension of the words employed, whether through the distance of the hearer, or the weak

voice of the speaker, as for instance in ad Att. IV. 8. 6: *dic, ora te, clarius; vix enim mihi exaudisse videor;* Curt. VII. 31. 20: *haec quassa adhuc voce, vix proximis exaudientibus, dixerat.* Cp. IV. § 14, pro Sull. § 30, with Reid's note.

l. 4. *haec*, what is before our eyes, the city of Rome; the term often seems to cover the whole empire; cp. IV. § 7, III. § 21, pro Sulla, §§ 32 and 76, and the passages cited by Nägelsbach, § 50. 3. But *relinquentem* hardly allows the extension of meaning here.

l. 6. *prosequantur*, according to the custom that citizens going into voluntary exile should be accompanied by relations and friends out of the city. The escort promised to Cat. was intended especially to protect him from attempts upon his life.

c. IX. § 22. l. 7. *te frangat;* we should say, 'to break your resolution.' *ut*, S. G. § 714 e.

l. 10. *duint*, S. G. § 280, in a similar connexion in Tac. Ann. IV. 38: *deos precor, ut mihi ad finem usque vitae quietam mentem duint.* Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV. 372, contends that there is no connexion with the root *dō dă*, a view now very generally accepted.

l. 15. *Sed est tanti*, 'it is worth while,' scil. *invidiam istam mihi impendere*, i.e. the hatred which threatens me is worth the cost. I willingly undergo it, if only, &c.: cp. II. § 15. Upon this phrase, which occurs in many applications, see Madvig's Opuscula Acad. II. 187 ff.; Roby, § 1192; S. G. § 494.

l. 18. *cedas*, 'give way to,' 'make a sacrifice for,' cp. pro Sulla, § 71, *rei pub. cedere.* For this meaning of *tempora*, 'the needs of the time,' cp. ad Fam. II. 18. 3: *tempora reipublicae qualia futura sint, quis scit?* and pro Caelio, § 10, quoted in note to II. § 8. l. 18.

l. 20. *pudor...metus...ratio*, as in pro Cluentio, § 15: *vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia.*

§ 23. l. 23. *ut praedicas*, in order to bring the measures of the consul into suspicion as acts of personal hostility.

l. 24. *recta*, sc. *via*, 'straightway,' i.e. 'without any further delay.'

l. 28. *importuna*, 'savage:' cp. pro Cluent. § 177, *crudelis atque importuna mulier*, and note on Cic. de Orat. I. 230, Mayor on de Nat. D. III. 32. 51.

l. 30. *latrocinio*, 'a bandit war;' *impio*, because against his country, his *father*-land, wanting in *pietas* erga *patriam*. *Latro*, orig. a mercenary soldier, one serving (λατρεύων) for pay: and often used in this sense by Plautus; afterwards 'a brigand:'

for the character of these mercenaries in the times of the Diadochi see Plautus, Miles Gloriosus, and Lorenz's note to v. 498.

P. 12. § 24. l. 2. *Forum Aurelium*, now Montalto a little place in Etruria situated between the streamlets Armenta (now the Fiora) and Marta on the *Aurelia via;* it probably owed its origin to the need of a gathering-place for the workmen employed in the construction of this road.

l. 4. *aquilam illam, 'quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur.'* Sall. c. 59. Marius was the first to introduce the eagle as a standard. It seems from Sallust that at first there was one for the whole army; but it was afterwards usual for each legion to have its own. Cp. Dict. Ant.[2] I. 785, II. 673, 675.

l. 6. *sacrarium*, 'a shrine of crime:' see Ulpian, Dig. I. 8. 9: *sacrarium est locus in quo sacra reponuntur.* The place in the camp by the Praetorium, where the eagles were kept, was considered sacred, and was actually spoken of as a νεώς by Greek writers, as e.g. in Cassius Dio, XL. 18, and Herodian, IV. 4.

tuorum is found only in MSS. of Class II. and should probably be omitted. *scelerum* has good authority, and may be defended.

l. 9. *a cuius altaribus.* We need not suppose any number of altars, for in classical Latin the word is used only in the plural. We see that Cicero makes Catilina pay idolatrous worship to the eagle as the significant proof that he had succeeded to Marius, the former head of the democratic party. Prof. Beesly (Catiline, Clodius and Tiberius, 1878) has argued vigorously that this was his true position. "The man on whom the eyes of the revolutionary party were fixed after the departure of Pompeius was, I repeat, Catiline. Sallust tells us so in so many words, 'cuncta plebes Catilinae incepta probabat' (Cat. c. 37). Let us once understand this clearly, and Catiline's position becomes perfectly simple. He was the successor in direct order of the Gracchi, of Saturninus, of Drusus, of Sulpicius, and of Cinna, and was recognised as such both by friends and enemies." But Prof. Tyrrell (Corresp. of Cicero, Vol. I. p. 15) maintains that this is a misconception. "Catiline drifted into the ranks of the insurgents. After foolishly vapouring in the senate about putting himself at the head of the popular party, he was too weak and undecided to take any step. His chief defect was his stupidity." The whole essay deserves careful study, esp. pp. 13—20.

c. x. § 25. l. 13. *haec res*, the war against your country: *quandam incred. voluptatem*, 'an altogether inconceivable delight.' For *quidam* attached to an adjective with a strengthening force cp. de Orat. I. 14. 91, II. 32 etc. Holden on de Off. I. 95.

l. 15. *natura peperit*, pro Sulla, § 70: *quem* (Cat.) *semper omnes ad civile latrocinium natum putaverunt*. Cicero had serious intentions of coalescing with Catilina in his candidature for the consulship.

l. 16. *non modo...sed ne quidem*. For the omission of *non* after *non modo* cp. S. G. § 881, Madvig, § 461 b.

l. 17. *nefarium*, i.e. civile.

l. 19. *conflatam*, a metaphor from metals, 'fused together,' hence 'compounded,' cp. Phil. IV. 15 *ille cum exercitum nullum habuisset, repente complevit*, i.e. 'got one together.'

§ 26. l. 23. *Ad huius vitae studium*, for life in a bandit's camp.

l. 24. *meditati*, the passive participle of a deponent verb, as in II. § 4, *parum comitatus*: cp. Roby, § 734, S. G. § 340, Mayor on Phil. II. § 85. 8. *qui feruntur*, =*praedicantur*, as II. § 9. pro Archia, § 21, *nostra semper feretur et praedicabitur—incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis*.

l. 25. *ad obsidendum stuprum*, 'to lie in wait for the opportunity of some act of vice.' So in Verr. Act. I. § 6, *qui meum tempus obsideret*.

l. 27. *bonis otiosorum*, quiet citizens, who in the darkness of the night were not prepared for an attack upon their property: cp. pro Marcello, § 18: *quidam enim non modo armatis, sed etiam otiosis minabantur*. The hardships, which Catilina was famous for enduring always had as their object either some act of vice (*flagitium*) or some crime (*facinus*).

l. 29. *inopiae rerum omnium*, see note to II. § 25: *quibus* of course is not to be referred to *rerum omnium*, but to *famis, frigoris, inopiae*. We may translate 'and yet, ere long, you will find yourself worn out by them.'

§ 27. l. 31. *cum reppuli*, S. G. § 725.

a consulatu reppuli, by his firm conduct at the consular comitia, so that Cat. did not venture to proceed to open violence with his band of ruffians: Introd. § 14. *tantum*, 'thus much, if no more:' see note on III. § 16. l. 2.

l. 32. *exsul—consul*. Cic. is very fond of such plays upon words. Whether the two words really contain the same root or not, he probably neither knew nor cared. On the whole it is

probable that they do, whatever this may be; but the connexion commonly asserted with *sedeo* is very doubtful.

P. 13. l. 2. *esset susceptum.* Notice the difference between the meaning of this tense and the older reading *est susceptum:* Madvig, § 369, 'If a remark or explanation by the speaker himself (which may be omitted without prejudice to the leading idea), or a description of something that actually exists independently of the contents of the main proposition, is inserted in a conjunctive or infinitive proposition, the indicative is employed. Cp. III. § 21 ad init. *quae videmus.*

l. 3. *bellum*, a name which might have been given to an attack upon the state made by a consul *cum imperio.*

c. xi. l. 4. *Nunc ut a me.* This self-justification of Cicero before the whole country (§§ 27—30) bears too plainly the stamp of deliberate calculation for us to be able to conceive it brought out against Catilina in this form, in a speech which elsewhere has completely the character of an impromptu. A similar apologetic character is found in the longer passage in Or. II. §§ 3—16.

l. 5. *detester.* Cp. or. Phil. IV. 4. 9: *o di immortales, avertite et detestamini, quaeso, hoc omen:* 'turn aside at my prayer.' The word is more commonly used as here, in its primary middle meaning, 'I remove from myself by prayer.' Both *detestor* and *deprecor* well serve to bring out the original *middle* force of Latin deponents. See Roby's Lat. Gr. § 1419.

l. 11. *comperisti.* The constant use of this word by Cic. was made a subject of taunt by his enemies: cp. ad Att. I. 14. 5, *me tantum* comperisse *omnia criminabatur* [*Clodius*]: ad Fam. v. 5. 2, *ex multis audivi: nam* comperisse *me non audeo dicere:* Acad. II. § 62; and in these speeches, p. 5. l. 20, p. 32. l. 23. Merivale (I. 116, note) says: 'this was the phrase by which the consul was wont to indicate his knowledge of facts when he refrained from revealing his sources of information,' but it is not always limited to this force.

l. 14. *evocatorem servorum.* If the scenes of terror in Rome had been perpetrated, the slaves would have played a leading part in the conflagration and murder. Even after Catilina had left Rome, Lentulus begged him not to despise the help of the slaves. See III. §§ 8. 12, and esp. Sall. Cat. 44. 6. But Catilina when in Etruria, refused to consent to this. See Sall. c. 56: *interea servitia repudiabat, cuius initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus coniurationis fretus, simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.*

l. 15. *emissus—inmissus.* This paronomasia (play upon words) or *adnominatio* produced by the change of the preposition occurs often in Cicero. See above § 27: *exsul—consul.*

l. 16. *Nonne*, for which Lambinus would write *non*, often occurs in questions where one might expect *non*. Madvig, § 451 c. obs.

l. 18. *mactari imperabis.* The infin. after *imperare* in Cicero is always *passive*: see pro Sulla, § 42: *dividi passim et pervulgari atque edi populo Romano imperavi:* with the active, *ut* with the conj. must be used.

§ 28. l. 19. *persaepe*, a very strong rhetorical exaggeration: see note to § 3.

l. 21. *multarunt*, properly 'imposed a penalty:' the derivation is quite obscure: Festus calls *multa* an Oscan word. The old spelling *mulcto*, whence our word, is quite incorrect.

An leges, &c., (1) the *leges Valeriae* (of B.C. 509, 449, 300) '*ne quis magistratus civem Romanum adversus provocationem necaret neve verberaret:*' (2) the *lex Porcia* (three laws of this name too are mentioned by Cic. de Rep. II. 54, but nothing is known as to their date: one may perhaps be assigned to B.C. 197) *quae gravi poena, si quis verberasset necassetve civem Romanum sanxit:* it was also provided that if capital punishment was to be pronounced upon a citizen, this was to consist in the punishment of exile, and finally (3) the *lex Sempronia* of C. Gracchus (see Mommsen, III. p. 112), which renewed the *leges Porciae* and made them more severe.

l. 22. *At numquam...tenuerunt*, sed pro hostibus patriae habiti sunt: see § 3, II. § 12, III. § 15, IV. § 10. The argument is a rhetorical not a legal one; but the orator derives his conclusion from the senatus consultum *videant consules*, which contained in itself a practical suspension of those laws, even though the suspension did not proceed from the people and was not recognised by them.

l. 24. *posteritatis* = posteri temporis, as in §§ 22, 29, exactly answering to our own 'posterity.' So sometimes *nobilitas* is used for 'nobility;' e.g. p. Rosc. Am. 16, *nobilitatis fautor.*

l. 27. *tam mature*, i.e. *suo anno*, fixed by the lex Villia at 43: cp. de lege agr. II. c. 2: *reperietis me esse unum ex omnibus novis hominibus, de quibus meminisse possumus, qui consulatum petierint, cum primum licitum sit, consul factus sim, cum primum petierim.*

P. 14. c. XII. § 29. l. 9. *Etenim si*, &c. A self-defence in reply to the question of the *patria*, § 28; *quid tandem te impedit? mosne maiorum?* The answer to the second question

An leges? is wanting, because there was no law that could be adduced for it, these being on the contrary directly against it: hence too the reproach of *crudeliter et regie facere*, § 30.

summi viri must be referred to the *magistratus* (§ 4), *clarissimi cives* to the *viri privati* (§ 3): so also pro Sulla, § 4, *quid tandem de his existimes summis viris et clarissimis civibus, &c.*

l. 10. *Flacci, M. Fulvii*, § 4.

l. 13. Join *ne quid...invidiae* (genit.), Madv. § 285 b. *Parricida* came to be used generally of any atrocious murder (*contra pietatem*): so *parricida liberum* in Liv. III. 50. 5.

§ 30. l. 17. *Quamquam*, 'and yet.' S. G. § 871. 6.

l. 19. *non videant*, the *imperiti; dissimulent*, sc. se videre, the *improbi:* cp. or. II. § 3.

l. 20. *qui = hi autem*, not to be closely connected with *sunt*, which would have required *aluerint* to follow.

mollibus sententiis, i.e. the opinions expressed at the sitting of the senate which preceded the consular elections. Introd. § 14.

l. 24. *regie*, the pure Latin word for *tyrannice*, see Verr. III. § 115, *regie seu potius tyrannice*, cp. pro Sulla, § 21, *regnum meum.* Cicero often had to bear the reproach of tyrannical government from his political adversaries, as e.g. from Clodius and Vatinius (in Vat. § 23, *qui nos tyrannos vocas*), who accused him especially of abusing his consular power.

l. 25. *intellego.* 'Nec antiquitas vel *aequiparare*, vel *intelligere*, et *negligere* formas novit, sed et in his *e* vocalem probavit solam.' Ritschl, Proleg. p. xcvii. The authorities are referred to at length by Corssen, II. 418.

l. 31. *Quodsi*, S. G. § 871. 5, Madvig, § 449: *se eiecerit*, sc. ex urbe.

l. 32. *naufragos* refers especially to loss of property or reputation: *perditos* to moral corruption, cp. pro Sulla, § 41, *patrimonii naufragus.*

P. 15. l. 2. *tam adulta pestis*, 'this fully developed plague-poison,' see Nägelsbach, Lat. Stil. § 114. 2.

c. XIII. § 31. l. 4. *iam diu.* Cp. pro Mur. § 81: *omnia quae per hoc biennium agitata sunt, iam ab eo tempore quo a Lucio Catilina et Cn. Pisone initum consilium senatus interficiendi scitis esse...in hoc tempus erumpunt.*

l. 5. *nescio quo pacto* is found often in a connexion where it corresponds euphemistically to our 'alas,' see Nägelsbach, § 86. 2.

l. 7. *in nost. cons. tempus erupit*, a pregnant construction, as in the passage from the pro Mur. just quoted. On the other hand, in pro Sulla, § 67, *furorem erupisse in meo consulatu*. The student should observe carefully the different force of these two constructions 'has burst out *upon*,' and 'has burst out *during*.'

l. 8. *ex tanto latrocinio* = ex tot latronum numero.

l. 11. *residebit:* see note on *sentina*, § 12. l. 26.

in venis atque in visceribus, in accordance with the common metaphor of the human body, applied to the state: see II. § 11. Phil. VIII. § 15, *sic in rei p. corpore, ut totum salvum sit, quidquid est pestiferum amputetur.*

l. 13. *aestu febrique*, no hendiadys, but an accumulation of synonymous conceptions according to the derivation of Varro: *appellamus* a *calendo calorem*, a *fervore febrim*. With *iactantur* cp. Hor. Serm. II. 3. 121: *Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem*, and notice the *middle* force, 'toss themselves about.' Cp. § 27. l. 5, II. § 10. l. 23, and Ov. Met. XIII. 6, *mecum confertur Ulixes*.

si biberunt; so read with Madvig and the best MSS. for *si biberint* of inferior MSS.; cp. Gram. § 356 b. note 1. The form *biberint* would have been correct, if the thought had been expressed thus: *aegri, si aquam gelidam biberint, gravius adflictabuntur.*

§ 32. l. 22. *praetoris urbani*, who, it appears, had a permanent tribunal in the forum, while the other praetors set up their tribunals here or there just as was convenient. Ramsay, p. 12. The praetor urbanus at this time was L. Valerius Flaccus. 'Circumstant trib. pr. urb. ut deterreant cum ius dicentem inter cives de creditis pecuniis,' Manut.

cum gladiis = armati.

l. 23. *malleolos*, 'fiery darts,' cp. Rich's Dict. Ant. in voc.

l. 27. *in vobis auctoritatem*, Cicero can so far promise and in a measure predict this (*polliceri* here approaches the meaning of *augurari*; cp. below *hisce ominibus*) because as consul he would together with the rest of the magistrates provide for the maintenance of the credit of the senate.

l. 29. *omnibus bonis*, the loyal citizens of the third rank: see § 21.

l. 31. *videatis*, see note to II. § 28 ad in.

§ 33. l. 32. *Hisce ominibus*, 'with these prophetic words,' cp. Paulus Festi, p. 195 (ed. Müller), *omen velut oremen* (Varro teaches us that the earlier form was *osmen*) *quod fit ore augurium, quod non avibus aliove modo fit.*

cum summa salute: we should say 'to the complete deliverance of the state.'

P. 16. l. 2. *omni scelere,* 'every kind of crime.'

l. 4. *Tu, Iuppiter.* These words are addressed to the statue in the temple.

isdem auspiciis, with a rhetorical exaggeration, as the sanctuary was only vowed by Romulus in the Sabine war (Liv. 1. 12), and the temple itself was only built much later: see Liv. x. 37. 15: *Iovis statoris aedem...Romulus ante voverat, sed fanum tantum, id est locus templo effatus fuerat. Ceterum hoc demum anno* (B.C. 294) *ut aedem etiam fieri senatus iuberet, bis eiusdem voti damnata re publica in religionem venit.*

l. 5. *constitutus,* 'set up:' cp. *quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem vates?* Hor. Carm. 1. 31. 1.

l. 6. *Statorem,* 'stablisher, protector,' in a somewhat different sense than on the occasion of the origin of the surname. The identification of Juppiter Stator with Indra sthâtar of the Hindus (Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, p. 103), according to which he represented originally the god of heaven standing on his car, the sun, is ingenious, but hardly probable.

l. 12. *mactare* seems to mean originally 'to magnify' or 'glorify,' then 'to honour with sacrifice,' then 'to sacrifice,' and so 'to slay' or 'punish' as here. So Georges: L. and S. are misleading.

ORATIO SECUNDA.

P. 17. c. 1. § 1. l. 1. *Tandem aliquando.* The whole introduction to the speech seems to our taste somewhat inflated by the accumulation of synonyms and forcible expressions, as also other passages of the speech do: but it must not be forgotten that the speech was delivered before the people, where a more forcible style was less out of place than in the senate. Cp. the noteworthy passage in ad Att. 1. 14. 3: *Crassus—surrexit ornatissimeque de meo consulatu locutus est, ut ita diceret se, quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi acceptum referre; quotiens coniugem, quotiens domum, quotiens patriam videret, totiens se beneficium meum videre. Quid multa? Totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro—nosti illas ληκύθους—valde graviter pertexuit.* For the *mendaciuncula* with which Cic. thought that an orator should intersperse his speeches, cp. de Orat. II. § 241.

l. 2. *scelus anhelantem,* 'breathing out, panting with audacious villainy:' ad Her. IV. c. 55: *at iste spumans ex ore scelus,*

anhelans ex intimo pectore crudelitatem contorquet bracchium et Graccho percutit tempus. Madv. § 223 c. obs. 2.

l. 3. *ferro flammaque.* The inferior MSS. have *ferrum flammamque.* '*Malum* alicui minitamur, sed minitamur *instrumento* (velut baculo). *Igni* dicitur in Phil. XI. § 37, XIII. § 47 (*huic urbi ferro ignique minitantur*) tamquam *facibus*, accommodate ad *ferrum*; *ignem* diceretur tamquam *deflagrationem*, cui aptum esset *caedem.*' Madvig.

l. 4. *vel, vel, vel,* in order to express a doubt which term should be used. Cicero (cp. II. § 15, pro Sulla, § 17), from fear of the people, did not yet quite like to use the strongest expression. He expresses himself with less reserve in III. cc. 2 and 7. 'L. Catilina, citizens, in the madness of his daring, a man whose every breath was villainy, who was planning the ruin of his country...I have at last driven out of the city, or you may say that I have allowed him to leave, or if you please, that I have given him my best wishes for his journey.' *Vel* is probably an old imperative from *volo* (cp. Solmsen, Studien, p. 4), and means 'choose which you will, it is a matter of indifference.' S. G. § 228, 874. *emittere* like all compounds of *mitto* has often the meaning of 'to allow to go' rather than 'to cause to go.' Cp. § 15 below: pro Sull. § 17, *exacto sive emisso iam ex urbe Catilina.*

l. 5. *ipsum*=sua sponte: *verbis prosecuti sumus*, we accompanied him with words, i.e. wished him a good journey, cp. I. § 33.

l. 10. *latera*, cp. pro Lig. § 9: *cuius latus ille mucro petebat?*

l. 11. *versabitur*, 'will ply its task.' Nägelsb. § 109. *in campo.* See I. § 11.

l. 13. *Loco motus*, a prizefighter's expression, for which *statu* is also used: 'driven from his ground,' from the good position from which he might do the state most harm.

cum, 'in the very fact of his being expelled,' as I. § 21: *cum quiescunt probant;* pro Sulla, § 21: *factus esse voluisti, cum—dixisti.* S. G. § 731.

l. 15. *iustum*, not 'righteous' but 'regular:' so *iustus triumphus* 'a triumph regularly gained' *cum iusto hoste:* Gell. v. 6. 21.

l. 17. *occultis insidiis*, the expression seems tautologous: *occultis* is only used to balance *apertum.*

§ 2. l. 18. *Quod vero*, 'but with regard to the fact that' i.e. 'but seeing that.' *cruentum* predicative: 'he has not taken out his blade stained with blood.'

l. 22. *adflictum*, much stronger than our 'afflicted.' See Dict.

P. 18. l. 2. *quidem*, adversative: 'but this on the contrary.'

l. 3. *evomuerit*, S. G. § 740, 'at the thought that she has' &c.

c. II. § 3. l. 6. *in hoc ipso*, 'in this very matter.' *in quo exsultat*, as *laetari* is also used (Phil. XI. § 9) *gloriari in aliqua re*, of the region, the field, in which a joy displays itself. Cp. pro Sestio, § 88.

l. 7. *me accuset*, see note to I. c. 11 ad init.

l. 13. *Iuius imperii*, see note to I. § 12. The extraordinary power conferred by the senate was to supersede the *leges*, which are mentioned in I. § 28 after *mos maiorum*. *res publica*, 'the interest of the state.'

l. 16. *defenderent*, 'tried to justify it.'

l. 17. *iudicarem*, 'I had been of opinion,' not with reference to the present, but to the past. S. G. § 638 (*c*).

l. 18. *invidiae meae*, 'of odium falling upon myself.' We may omit *meae* in translation.

§ 4. l. 19. *ne vobis quidem...probata, si*, 'if I, at a time when even you were not yet all convinced of the fact (of the existence of a conspiracy),' &c. *Vobis omnibus* is in opposition to *quam multos* in line 14; by this the senators are especially denoted, for the *delationes* mentioned had been followed by a discussion in the senate.

l. 27. *parum comitatus*. Sall. 32: *nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est*. Plutarch, Life of Cicero, c. 16, says, 'having left the city accompanied by 300 armed men;' but perhaps in this number we must include those who waited for Catilina at the forum Aurelium: cp. I. § 24. For *comitatus*, pass. part. of a *deponent* verb, cp. note on *meditati* I. § 26.

l. 29. *Tongilium*, &c. The writer quotes merely names of *homines ignobiles*, who may still have been very well known in certain circles, as dissolute fellows. *mihi*, 'I find,' dat. ethic. S. G. § 473, Madvig, § 248.

l. 30. *in praetexta*, i.e. praetextatum, when he still wore the toga of boyhood, edged with the purple stripe.

l. 31. *popina* can hardly be separated from *cocus* (coquus). What however is the exact relation of the two words is a difficult question. The change of an original guttural to a labial is regular in Oscan, where we have *pid* for *quid* etc. But it is very doubtful if it ever occurs in genuine Latin words.

It is best to regard *popina* as a Campanian word, which had become naturalised at Rome, like 'restaurant' with us. Cp. Brugmann, Grundr. § 336.

P. 19. c. III. § 5. l. 3. *Gallicanis legionibus*, i.e. the troops stationed in Gallia cisalpina, which were perhaps in winter-quarters there; and to these now the new levy (*hoc dilectu*) of Q. Metellus Celer was added: see Sall. c. 30, pro Sulla, § 53, *num in agro Camerti, Piceno, Gallico, quas in oras maxime quasi morbus quidam illius furoris pervaserat? dilectus* is the constant form in the older MSS. in the meaning 'levy.'

in agro Gallico, in the district lying north of Picenum, once held by the Galli Senones. It was usually reckoned in Umbria, which however properly only includes the interior, while the coast-land, with the towns of Sena Gallica (Sinigaglia), Fanum, Pisaurum, Ariminum, Ravenna, composed the *ager Gallicus*.

l. 6. *senibus desperatis;* see § 20, and the same section towards the end for *agresti luxuria*, in which term the abstract quality stands for the person whose character it expresses: see Nägelsbach, § 14. This construction is especially appropriate when the abstract stands in the collective sense for the concrete.

l. 7. *decoctoribus*. Thoughtless extravagance was looked upon by the Romans as a gross moral offence, and was branded by public opinion and the censor's reproof. For the use of *decoquo*, 'to become bankrupt,' from which this meaning of *decoctor* is derived, cp. Cic. Phil. II. § 44: *tenesne memoria te praetextatum decoxisse?*

l. 8. *vadimonia deserere*, to neglect the legal obligations to which they had bound themselves, by going as it were into exile through their departure for the army, without having appointed any legal representatives: in this case a *missio in bona venditionis causa*, Ulp. Dig. 39. 2. 5, followed: i.e. a confiscation of their goods with a view to their sale.

l. 9. *quibus...concident* = qui, si iis ostendero, concident: see Verr. v. § 45 (with Halm's note) and pro Sest. § 63.

l. 10. *edictum praetoris*, with reference to *vadimonia deserere:* it contained the rules of law and legal processes, in accordance with which the praetor was to act during his years of office: Ramsay, p. 243.

l. 11. *concident*, 'they will fall powerless.' Cp. Phil. II. § 107, *qua re tibi nuntiata...concidisti*, where Prof. Mayor remarks, "Often thus used of the 'collapse,' prostration, consternation, produced by a sudden shock. We say 'you dropped to the

ground as if shot.' The vulgar phrase 'struck all of a heap' gives the exact force of the preposition."

l. 13. *unguentis*, for the use of perfumes see Becker's Gallus, p. 378.

purpura, on the edge of the tunica: with regard to this great luxury was displayed in the choice of the most costly and brilliant purple stuffs, as we may see e.g. from the oration in defence of Caelius, that pattern of fashionable extravagance, whom his prosecutor had taunted among other things with *purpurae genus* § 77.

l. 14. *suos milites*, as his own soldiers, as his personal bodyguard. Richter has enclosed these words in brackets as being a gloss from § 4, '*utinam ille omnes secum copias suas eduxisset!*'

l. 17. *hoc...magis*, the same position of the words occurs also p. Arch. § 13, p. Sest. § 60, *atque hoc etiam...esse maiorem.*

§ 6. l. 19. *cui sit Apulia attributa*, &c. Sall. c. 27: *igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat.* This is not inconsistent with III. § 14: *in M. Ceparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam esse attributam erat indicatum.*

l. 21. *urbanas insidias*, see III. § 14, IV. § 13, Sall. c. 43.

l. 23. *superioris noctis*, 'the night before last,' an apparently inexact expression, for on the day on which Cic. was speaking, it was the last night but two. But in his speech before the people Cicero is referring to his first speech, and it cannot possibly be supposed that in the former *superior nox* denotes any other night than in the latter, and that II. 13 speaks of two other nights than in the passage which is in view here I. 1. Cp. note 51 to Introd.

l. 25. *Ne illi.* The common form *nae* is against the MSS. Cp. Ritschl, Proleg. ad Trin. p. 97. 'Prorsus novicia affirmandi particula *nae* est quam constantissimo testimonio antiqui libri *ne* fuisse consentiunt.' This particle in good Latin is almost always followed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun. Cp. Phil. II. § 76. l. 25, with Mayor's note and de Nat. Deorum, II. 50, with Reid's note in Mayor's edition.

c. IV. l. 28. *Quod exspectavi*, see note to § 27.

l. 30. *nisi vero si quis est.* The use of *si* after *nisi*, which in this case has quite the force of an adverb, 'unless,' is rare in Cicero, but is supported by indisputable examples, as e.g. Phil. II. § 70 with the note of Halm (ed. Mayor): cp. note to IV. § 13. l. 8.

l. 31. *cum Catilina sentire*, i.e. hold the same political opinions: cp. pro Sulla, § 36, *si respondisset idem sentire et secum facere Sullam, &c.*

P. 20. l. 2. *ne patiantur*, 'let them not suffer:' to take this as a final clause would spoil the symmetry of the sentence. *sui* obj. gen. S. G. § 525.

l. 3. *Aurelia via*, which ran along the west coast of Etruria to Pisa. Phil. XII. § 22, *tres viae sunt ad Mutinam, a supero mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia.* Catilina avoided the most direct road to the camp of Manlius, the *via Cassia*, that he might be thought to be on his way to Massilia.

l. 4. *ad vesperam*, as in Phil. II. § 77. Cic. in his letters and dialogues uses *ad vesperum*, which is the common form in other writers. In his speeches he has only these two instances of *ad vesperam*, and in Mil. 54 *vesperi*. Cp. Neue, I.² 572.

§ 7. l. 7. *exhausto*, carrying on the metaphor of *sentina*: see I. § 12.

l. 12. *circumscriptor*, cheat by profession, particularly those who attempted to overreach inexperienced youths and wards (*pupilli*). See de Off. III. c. 15, *iste dolus malus legibus erat vindicatus, ut circumscriptio adulescentium lege Plaetoria.*

l. 13. *nepos*, 'spendthrift.' Hor. Ep. II. 2. 193.

l. 17. *nefarium stuprum.* Besides the guilt of incest with the Vestal Fabia, which was charged against Catilina (Introd. § 3), Plutarch (Cic. c. 10) mentions the report that he lived in illicit intercourse with his own daughter: cp. too Ascon. ad Or. in toga cand. p. 72. The reference however is here rather to the encouragement which he gave to others in their infamous vices.

§ 8. l. 18. *Iam vero.* Cp. III. § 16 f. and particularly the fine picture in Cic. pro Caelio, § 13: *illa vero, iudices, in illo homine* (Catilina) *mirabilia fuerunt: comprehendere multos amicitia, tueri obsequio, cum omnibus communicare quod habebat, servire temporibus suorum omnium pecunia, gratia, labore corporis, scelere etiam, si opus esset, et audacia: versare suam naturam et regere ad tempus atque huc et illuc torquere ac flectere: cum tristibus severe, cum remissis iucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum iuventute comiter, cum facinorosis audacter, cum libidinosis luxuriose vivere. Hac ille tam varia multiplicique natura, cum omnes omnibus ex terris homines improbos undique collegerat, tum etiam multos fortes viros et bonos specie quadam virtutis adsimulatae tenebat.*

l. 21. *fructum*, 'enjoyment, satisfaction.'

l. 22. *impellendo*, an ablative not of means, but rather of circumstances, 'urging, helping:' cp. S. G. § 459. Roby, § 1385.

l. 27. *ullo:* the MSS. have *ne ullo:* we must either add *quidem* with Halm, or omit *ne* with Mommsen. The latter is supported by de Imp. Pomp. 22 *non modo imperatoris sed unius tribuni* &c., p. Balb. 4 *quam non modo ex mea, sed cuiusquam oratione capere possitis.*

c. v. § 9. l. 29. *diversa studia in dissimili ratione*, 'different pursuits (pursuits developed in different directions) in a totally unlike department.' We may compare the apologetic picture in the speech for Caelius (§ 12), who was accused of confidential intercourse with Catilina: *habuit ille* (Catilina) *permulta maximarum non expressa signa, sed adumbrata virtutum. Utebatur hominibus improbis multis: et quidem optimis se viris deditum esse simulabat. Erant apud illum illecebrae libidinum multae: erant etiam industriae quidam stimuli ac laboris. Flagrabant vitia libidinis apud illum: vigebant etiam studia rei militaris. Neque ego unquam fuisse tale monstrum in terris ullum puto, tam ex contrariis diversisque et inter se pugnantibus naturae studiis cupiditatibusque conflatum.. Quis clarioribus viris quodam tempore iucundior? quis turpioribus coniunctior? quis civis meliorum partium aliquando? quis taetrior hostis huic civitati? quis in voluptatibus inquinatior? quis in laboribus patientior? quis in rapacitate avarior? quis in largitione effusior?*

l. 30. *nemo est*, &c. Cp. Q. Cicero de pet. consul. § 10: *qui postea cum histrionibus et gladiatoribus ita vixit, ut alteros libidinis, alteros facinoris adiutores haberet.*

in ludo gladiatorio, where the slaves, destined to be gladiators, were instructed in their art under the care of a *lanista*.

l. 32. *intimum Catilinae:* inferior MSS. add *esse fateatur*. The words are not necessary; *commemoret* is anticipated.

in scaena. The actors were generally slaves or freedmen. Every free man was held *infamis*, '*qui artis ludicrae pronuntiandive causa in scaenam prodierit.*' Hence the bitterness of the insult offered by Caesar to Laberius in compelling him to recite his own verses. Cp. his own words in Macrob. Sat. II. 17, and see Merivale, Hist. IV. 27, Mommsen, IV. 456. On the spelling of *scaena*, from the Greek σκηνή, cp. Corssen, I.^{2} p. 325, and the authorities there quoted. The word *scene* in Shakespeare and Milton always carries with it some hint of its primary meaning, 'the stage' or 'the scenery:' see Coleridge's Biograph. Liter., Chap. XX. (p. 199, last ed.).

P. 21, l. 1. *sodalem* is more than *intimum*, because mutual duties and rights belonged to the members of a *sodalitas*, a name denoting the *collegia sacra* and the political clubs connected with these. For the mutual obligations of defence among *sodales* cp. pro Sulla, § 7. Ramsay, pp. 178, 309. Mommsen, De Collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum (Kiel, 1843). Renan, Les Apôtres pp. 351—365.

l. 3. *exercitatione adsuefactus*, &c. 'when by the practice of impurity and crimes (by a lustful and criminal course of life) accustomed and hardened to the endurance, &c.' As to the position of the participle with respect to the verb, it contains the reason why Catilina by his followers *fortis praedicabatur*. But the orator has spontaneously made, as he often does, the malicious addition *stuprorum—exercitatione* (opposed to *virtutum*).

l. 5. *cum*, 'although:' *industriae subsidia*, by which especially the physical, as by *instrumenta virtutis* the mental and moral, forces are designated.

§ 10. l. 7. *Hunc vero*, &c. After the digression as to the character of Catilina, this sentence forms the continuation and climax of § 7, *uno me hercule exhausto*, &c. The state is fortunate in the departure of Catilina; how fortunate will appear, as soon as his associates have followed him.

l. 11. *mediocres libidines*, of an ordinary character, i.e. not dangerous. *audaciae*, 'acts of daring:' the plural of abstract nouns is often used to denote repeated instances of the display of the quality: cp. Kühner, II. 55. Cp. pro Sulla, § 76.

l. 14. *fortunas*, here especially of landed property.

l. 15. *nuper*, especially since the consular comitia, which had frustrated many hopes.

l. 16. *abundantia*, for which *abundantia rerum* would be more common: see note to § 25 ad fin. *libido*, 'lust for pleasure.'

l. 17. *comissationes*. *Comissari*, properly of the drinking bout which followed a feast, is from κωμάζειν. Cp. Bentley on Ter. Eun. III. 1. 52 (where Wagner prints *commissatum*) and Corssen I.^{2} p. 295: so *badisso*, *malacisso*. Hulm in Quintil. XI. 3. 57, adopts the spelling *comisari*: see Spalding in loc.

l. 20. *inertes*: they are so called from their luxury and their dread of honourable activity.

l. 21. *ebrios* is a better supported reading than *ebriosos*: the former denotes a state, the latter a habit: it is not used by Cic. in his speeches.

l. 23. *complexi*, 'holding in their arms.' Again, a *middle* force of a deponent, 'having enfolded themselves with,' as *amplector* is 'to fold oneself around.' See note on I. 27. l. 13.

l. 25. *eructant*, in classical Latin only a coarse plebeian expression, our own 'belch out;' they fling out in their drink talk of murder. In late Latin, like the cognate ἐρεύγεσθαι the word simply means 'utter.' Distinguish carefully *obliti* and *oblīti*.

§ 11. l. 27. *impendere:* notice the force of the pres. after *confido*.

l. 31. *nescio quod*, 'some' belongs to *breve*, in order to express the doubt what term (perhaps a proverbial one) should be chosen to denote a short time.

l. 32. *propagarit*, 'extend,' 'secure the continuance of.' In this particular sense we only find the word in this passage: though in III. 26 it is somewhat similar. We should have expected rather the following construction: *non in breve nescio quod tempus, sed in multa saecula propagarit rem publicam. propagare* is properly used of plants, 'to extend by layers pegged down' (*propagines*), and hence is used of extension in space more commonly than of extension in time (root *pag*, 'fix'). Cp. Plin. 17. 13. 21. § 97: *Cato propagari praeter vitem tradit ficum oleam*, &c.

P. 22. l. 3. *externa...pacata*, see Sall. Cat. c. 36. 4: *unius*, sc. of Pompeius. *terra*, by his defeat of Mithridates; *marique*, especially by his extirpation of the pirates.

l. 4. *intus insidiae sunt*, &c. Cp. pro Mur. § 78: *non usque eo L. Catilina rem publicam despexit atque contempsit, ut ea copia, quam secum eduxit, se hanc civitatem oppressurum arbitraretur. Latius patet illius sceleris contagio, quam quisquam putat; ad plures pertinet. Intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus, a quo nunquam me consule dormientes opprimemini.*

l. 9. *quacumque* r. sc. *potero*. See Roby, §§ 228—9, S. G. § 900.

l. 12. *et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent*. To the one clause the verb stands in a literal, to the other in a figurative sense, a construction particularly favoured in poetical language: cp. e.g. p. Sulla, § 33, *erigite mentes auresque*. Tac. Ann. II. 29, *manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens*. XII. 28: *praeda famaque onusti*. Verg. Aen. II. 654: *animis opibusque parati*, &c. This construction, commonly called Sylepsis (see Farrar's Greek Syntax, § 309), is used in English only in intentional burlesque: 'Mr Weller then took his hat and his leave.' We might have expected *permanebunt*; but the exact meaning

seems to be 'let them anticipate, if they are at the time in the city and in the same mind, to receive what they deserve.'

c. vi. § 12. l. 16. *verbo*, 'with a single word,' as below, *qui cives verbo in exilium eicio*. For the spelling *eicio*, *reicio*, &c., cp. Munro, Lucret. II. p. 27: the form *eiēcit* is also found as a pres. ind. in Plaut., Lucret., Verg. and even Livy. See Madvig, Emend. Liv. p. 190; Lachmann (or Munro) on Lucret. II. 190. *homo enim videlicet timidus:* ironically, 'evidently the timorous man could not,' &c. Cp. pro Fonteio, § 19, *verebatur enim videlicet, ne quid apud vos de existimatione sua deperderet.*

l. 18. *permodestus*. The idea of *modestus*, which is used more frequently in a political than in an ethical sense, often passes entirely into the meaning 'docile, tractable,' as e.g. in *modestia militaris*, the technical term for military subordination: cp. de leg. agr. II. § 84: *totus ager Campanus colitur et possidetur a plebe, et a plebe optima et modestissima* (our 'loyal,' in opposition to *seditiosa*): pro red. in sen. § 4, *consules modesti legumque metuentes impediebantur lege.*

l. 19. *paruit, ivit*. The MSS. are corrupt here; but it seems best to leave the asyndeton, as in de Orat. II. 255, *videt percunctatur.*

l. 20. *Hesterno die*, see Introd. note 55 ad fin. With these words begins the refutation of the objection '*at etiam sunt qui dicant.*'

l. 25. *ita* corresponds to *ut*, as in Vatin. § 1: *Nemo enim horum aut ita te refutandum ut gravem adversarium, aut ita rogandum ut religiosum testem arbitrabantur.* We should not say 'so—as,' but simply 'as.' For analogous cases see Nägelsbach, § 156. 2.

P. 23. § 13. l. 2. *in proximam*, note on II. 6. Introd. note 54.

l. 3. *ratio belli*, 'plan of the campaign:' *esset ei descripta*, 'had been fully developed by him,' how he had determined upon his plans for the campaign: cp. note to I. § 17, *tibi constituti fuerunt.*

l. 5. *pararet*, 'had been preparing.' The impf. is used with *iampridem, iamdiu*, &c. of autaction extending over some time, up to and including the time in the past which is spoken of. For the corresponding use of the present, cp. S. G. § 596.

l. 6. *secures—fasces*, because only a magistrate entitled to the *fasces* could command an army of Roman citizens. Catilina arrogated to himself, by the employment of the *fasces* as a consul (Sall. Cat. 36: *cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit*), a power which he had not

been able to acquire by the legitimate course of canvassing for it.

l. 8. *sacrarium.* All editions before Halm's add *scelerum*, which has been struck out, with four MSS.: it seems to have come in from I. § 24.

§ 14. l. 9. *eiciebam:* not *ieci.* Cp. S. G. § 606.

l. 10. *ingressum in bellum*, 'that he had already entered upon the path of war.'

l. 11. *in agro Faesulano.* See note to I. § 5, *in Etruriae faucibus.*

l. 15. *haec castra*, not *illa*, opposed to the more distant Massilia.

c. VII. l. 16. *condicio*, 'arrangement,' hence here the 'vocation,' 'task,' as in pro Flacco, § 87, *o condiciones miseras administrandarum provinciarum;* pro Sulla, § 52, *manendi condicio*, i.e. appointment. Cp. Nägelsbach, § 64. 1, and see also note to III. § 1. For the spelling *condicio* (the form constantly found in the best MSS.) cp. Wagner on Verg. Aen. I. 236, Mayor in Journ. Phil. VIII. 265, and the authorities in Corssen, I.^{2} p. 52: hence it follows that the derivation is from *con-dic-* like *ob-liv-io*, from *ob-liv-*.

l. 19. *debilitatus*, 'crippled.'

§ 15. l. 29. *Est mihi tanti*, to which *subire* is the subject, 'it is well worth my while;' cp. note to I. § 22.

l. 30. *invidiae falsae*, which rests upon groundless charges.

P. 24. l. 1. *sane*, 'by all means;' common with a concessive subjunctive, S. G. § 676.

l. 2. *non est iturus*, he is not thinking of going into exile.

l. 7. *illud*, 'the following,' used almost always in Cicero where we should say rather 'this:' cp. Madv. § 485 b.

l. 10. *eidem.* Cp. Ritschl, Proleg. p. XCVII.: 'geminatum *i* in pronomine non maiorem fidem habet quam in *dii, diis*, pro quibus aut *di, dis*, ut *i, is*, aut *dei, deis*, ut *ei, eis* veteres probarunt.' Cp. Roby, § 376. In later writers the forms in *e* become rare. Cp. Madvig, § 83, obs. 1.

§ 16. l. 13. *tam misericors.* In their pity for Catilina in consequence of his exile, they seem full of sympathy for him. But if this were a genuine sympathy, they would not be wishing for his junction with Manlius, which would contribute to his inevitable ruin, but they would consider a voluntary exile as his greatest good fortune.

l. 16. *latrocinantem*, 'in his bandit war.'

l. 21. *quam queramur*, for which at the present time we have not yet any reason.

c. VIII. § 17. l. 24. *quod volui*, cp. I. §§ 10, 32.

l. 25. *de his*, opposed to the absent Catilina.

l. 28. *sanare sibi ipsos.* The antithesis *rei p.* has given rise to the addition *sibi*, as is often the case with similar datives of the personal pronoun, as in pro Sestio, § 32: *quis umquam tam crudelis fuit, qui prohiberet quemquam aut sibi maerere aut ceteris supplicare?* Tac. Ann. II. 38: *securi omnes aliena subsidia exspectabant sibi ignavi, nobis graves.* Here the dative is due to the notion that the adherents of Catilina find themselves in a state of moral disorder. This discord Cic. declares that he wishes to remedy, to bring them again into harmony with themselves, and to restore them to their sound reason. For *ipsos*, for which Ernesti wished to read *ipsis*, cp. pro Lig. § 36: *quam* (salutem) *cum utrisque his dederis, his patres optimos et integerrimos non solum sibi ipsos, sed etiam rei publicae condonaveris.* pro Marc. § 13, *cum M. Marcellum deprecantibus vobis rei publicae conservavit, reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsos et patriae reddidit.* In Latin there is universally a tendency to connect the pronoun *ipse* rather with the subject than with the reflexive pronoun. We may compare the Greek *αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ*.

l. 31. *ex quibus generibus comparentur.* The orator divides the conspirators into six classes, and characterizes them generally, as he has not the detailed evidence needed to mention names, in order to quiet the people in the midst of the many exaggerated reports of the extent and internal strength of the conspiracy.

l. 32. *medicinam consilii:* a genitive of material, 'consisting in.'

P. 25. § 18. l. 2. *magno in aere alieno*, i.e. 'even if plunged deep in debt.' The Latin phrase, to which our own does not exactly correspond, is explained by the terms used to denote the opposite condition, *in suo aere* (Hor. Ep. II. 2. 12), *in suis nummis esse* (Cic. Verr. IV. § 6).

l. 3. *maiores possessiones*, therefore still possessing a surplus of property.

l. 4. *dissolvi*, a middle verb, with an intentionally ambiguous force, corresponding to our 'free themselves,' i.e. either 'sever themselves from' (p. Sulla, § 59: *qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant, ut ab iis membra citius divelli ac distrahi posse diceres*) or 'get out of debt.' The latter however they could not have done, for the value of landed property had sunk greatly in consequence of the general panic: see Val. Max. IV. 8. 3: *Catilinae furore ita consternata re publica, ut ne*

a locupletibus quidem debitae pecuniae, propter tumultum pretiis possessionum deminutis, solvi creditoribus possent.

l. 6. *causa*, 'case,' not much differing from *voluntas*, and not 'motive.' *impudentissima*, because they might have paid their debts before the depreciation caused by their own conspiracy but would not.

l. 7. *argento*, 'plate,' esp. beautiful articles for the table, with chased work. Cp. *ridet argento domus*, Hor. Od. IV. 11. 6.

l. 9. *de possessione detrahere*, 'to suffer a loss, to make a sacrifice of a portion of their estates:' for the meaning of *possessio* cp. Ramsay, p. 226; for the fact cp. pro Sulla, § 56 ad fin., *plurimis et pulcherrimis P. Sittii praediis venditis aes alienum eiusdem est dissolutum, ut, quae causa ceteros ad facinus impulit, cupiditas retinendae possessionis, ea Sittio non fuerit praediis deminutis.*

adquirere ad fidem, 'to gain as regards credit.' Cp. Nägelsbach, § 116.

l. 11. *omnium* is used rarely for *omnium rerum* (see Zumpt, § 678, Madv. § 301 b), as in de fin. I. § 63: *ad cognitionem omnium;* Tusc. II. § 47: *domina omnium et regina ratio;* Tac. Ann. II. 22: *veniam omnium accipere.*

l. 12. *sacrosanctas*, a very forcible expression, properly of things which have been consecrated by a religious ceremony: cp. Fest. p. 251, *sacrosanctum dicitur quod iureiurando interposito est institutum, si quis id violasset, ut morte poenas penderet.* Translate freely:—'that it would be considered sacrilege to touch your estates.'

tabulas novas, 'cancelling of the creditors' accounts.' The expression 'new account-books' in a political connexion is always to be understood as an alteration of the debt in favour of the debtor, whether the creditors had to reduce their demands considerably, as, e.g., by the *lex Valeria* (see Vell. Pat. II. 23) the capitalists had to sacrifice three-fourths of their capital, or whether a political revolution caused a complete cancelling of debts, the object at which Catilina was certainly aiming, when he promised his confederates *tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas* (Sall. 21). For Caesar's action subsequently in this direction, cp. Mommsen, IV. pp. 523–4, and Journal of Philology, Vol. I.

l. 14. *tabulae novae proferuntur*, which he might with double reason call *novas*, as by a new regulation the state was to force the debtors to give up a portion of their property to the liquidation of their debts. After the manner in which Cicero elsewhere expresses himself (de Off. II. c. 24), we must really believe that when consul he undertook to grapple with

the question of debt, and by means of prescribed sales brought some order into the state of credit.

l. 16. *salvi*, as regards their pecuniary relations.

l. 18. *certare cum usuris fructibus praed.*, i.e. endeavoured to pay the interest on their debts with the produce of their estates. As this was not sufficient, the orator in a bold figure calls this vain endeavour a *certare*, a contest in which the *fructus* were always destined to succumb to the *usurae*, i.e. to fail to cover them.

c. IX. § 19. l. 24. *quamquam premuntur.* The thought expressed thus in the concessive form rests upon the political principle, that a power which is not based upon property, gives us no ground to expect its continuance. In Cicero *quamquam* is always followed by the *indic.* Livy, Tacitus, and the poets use it with the conjunctive for *quamvis*. See Madvig, § 361. obs. 3.

l. 26. *quieta re p.* Cp. Aristoph. Eq. 865 sqq., ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῇ λαμβάνουσιν οὐδέν, ἐὰν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν, αἱροῦσι· καὶ σὺ λαμβάνεις, ἢν τὴν πόλιν ταράττῃς.

l. 29. *scilicet*, 'of course,' as I hardly need to say.

l. 31. *vigilare*, &c. The infinitives depend upon some such word as 'they must remember' understood, and thus suggest the reasons for *praecipiendum ut desperent:* they must give up the hope at the thought *primum me vigilare*, &c.

l. 32. *magnos animos*, high spirit, courage.

P. 26, l. 1. *maximam multitudinem:* the insertion of *adesse*, proposed by Nohl, makes the sense and construction clear. Other ways have been suggested of correcting the corruption in the MSS. here, but this is the simplest. Cp. IV. §§ 14 and 15, in Pis. § 7: *ita est a me consulatus peractus, ut multitudinem cum principibus, equestrem ordinem cum senatu coniunxerim.*

l. 5. *praesentes*, 'in visible presence,' practically equivalent to 'with power, energy,' or perhaps rather 'propitious.' Cp. Tusc. I. 12, § 28, *Hercules tantus et tam praesens habetur deus*, with Kühner's note.

l. 6. *si iam* is often used in putting forward an improbable hypothesis: *si iam veniat* = 'if he should really come:' cp. de Orat. I. 250 (note).

l. 12. *sit necesse:* it is unavoidable, according to all the teaching of experience, that revolution should destroy its own children, and that the first leaders of a revolutionary movement should never maintain themselves in the possession of the rule that they had hoped for. Cp. Sall. Cat. 39. 4: *quodsi primo*

proelio Catilina superior...discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam obpressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.

§ 20. l. 12. *Tertium genus*, the old soldiers of Sulla, of whom Sallust remarks: (c. 16) *largius suo usi rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant. aetate adfectum*, 'advanced in life,' the usual phrase in Cic., cp. de Sen. 14. 47.

l. 14. *Manlius.* Cassius Dio, XXXVII. 30: 'There was a certain C. Mallius, a man most experienced in military affairs (for he had served among the centurions [Dio's word is λοχαγῶν] of Sulla), and most extravagant: everything that he won then, much as this was, he had wasted shamefully, and now he was longing for like deeds.'

l. 15. *quas Sulla constituit*, who according to Appian (de bell. civ. I. 104) had divided land among 120,000 of his soldiers. The inhabitants of Etruria had especially suffered from these terrible military colonies, for they, together with the Samnites, had continued the longest the struggle on behalf of the Marian party. Cp. Mommsen, III. 356—7.

l. 16. *universas*, 'on the whole.'

l. 17. *sed tamen ii sunt coloni*, 'but still among them there are colonists, who.' Putsche conjectures: *sed tamen in iis sunt coloni.*

l. 20. *Hi dum aedificant.* This is well illustrated by the passage in Hor. Serm. II. 3. 308:

> aedificas, hoc est longos imitaris, ab imo
> ad summum totus moduli bipedalis....
> an quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque verum est
> tantum dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?

beati, 'well-to-do,' 'wealthy,' as in Verr. IV. § 126: *nostrum unusquisque, qui tam beati, quam iste est, non sumus, tam delicati esse non possumus.* So constantly in Horace, e.g. Carm. II. 4. 13. *praediis lectis*, the reading of MSS. of class I., is much better in itself than the old reading *lecticis*, both in sense and in rhythm.

l. 21. *familiis*—'households of slaves.'

conviviis adparatis, 'elaborate' with reference both to the choice of the dishes and to the decoration of the dining-room: Verr. IV. § 44: *domesticis copiis ornare et adparare convivium.* Liv. XXIII. 4. 3: *apparatis accipere epulis.* Justin I. 6: *eosdem adparatis epulis invitat.*

l. 24. *agrestes*, perhaps those especially who had been driven out from house and home by the military colonies.

l. 26. *veterum*, more commonly 'of long standing' (as in § 21), is used here for 'of bygone days,' for which *antiquarum* would be more usual. The rule '*antiqua* sunt quae ante fuerunt, *vetera*, quae diu fuerunt' is however by no means always observed. Cp. note on de Orat. I. 1. Schmitz, Synon. p. 479. Sometimes the two words are found together: cp. Plaut. Mil. 751.

l. 27. *in eodem genere*, i.e. *coloni* and *agrestes* alike.

l. 31. *pecudes*, 'the brutes.' This language was proverbial, as is shown by ad Att. I. 16. 6: *quod omnes non modo homines verum etiam pecudes factum esse sciant, id Thalnam et Plautum et Spongiam et ceteras huius modi quisquilias statuere nunquam esse factum.*

l. 32. *esse videantur*: see note on I. § 14.

P. 27. c. X. § 21. l. 2. *turbulentum* here does not mean 'disorderly,' but 'heterogeneous,' 'forming a mongrel medley,' as the synonymous adjectives *varium* and *mixtum* show. The class consists of a varied mixture of people drawn from all classes of the town and country population. Cic. de Fin. I. § 20: *illa atomorum turbulenta concursio hunc mundi ornatum efficere non poterit.*

l. 3. *male gerendo negotio*. The regular phrase is *negotium gerere* (a construction to be explained from the composition with *otium*) and not *negotia*, just as we say 'business' in the singular: cp. pro Sulla, § 58: *aes alienum videmus, iudices, non libidine, sed negotii gerendi studio esse contractum*: hence *negotii gerentes* (pro Sest. § 97) = *negotiatores*, 'men of business.'

l. 5. *vacillant*: *vaccillant* seems to be the earlier orthography, the word being derived perhaps from the waddling gait of the *vacca*. Cp. Munro on Lucr. III. 504, Lachmann on I. 360, (p. 37). The first syllable is however usually short: cp. *mamilla*, *ofella* &c.

vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione. These expressions include the three chief stages of an action in bankruptcy, (1) the summons which had taken the place of the earlier *vocatio* (a personal summons by the prosecutor): in this the parties entered into a *vadimonium* to appear in court (*satisdatio in iudicio sistendi causa facta*): (2) the action before the *iudex* and the delivery of the judicial *sententia*: (3) the execution, whereby if the party condemned in the suit had not discharged his obligations within a fixed time (*iudicatum solvere*) after a previous *missio in bona* (entry upon the actual possession of

the goods), during which the *bona* were publicly offered for sale by auction, the final sale of the property followed.

l. 8. *infitiatores lentos*, properly tardy refusers, men who are always ready with excuses to gain time for payment or to get quit of an obligation. Paullus Festi, p. 112, Muell.: *infitiari, creditum fraudare.* Isid. Orig. v. 26. 21: *infitiatio est negatio debitae rei, cum a creditore deposcitur.* But as Cicero places *infitiatores lentos* in antithesis to *milites acres*, he seems to intimate that they will act in battle as in debt, and find excuses enough to escape their duties. Hence we may translate, imitating the *double entendre*, 'indolent shirkers.'

l. 9. *quam primum*, 'as soon as possible,' i.e. before it comes to a civil war or to a general revolution.

l. 11. *ne vicini quidem*, a proverbial expression, as in Greek also: cp. Luc. Char. 16: *οὗτος ἦν καὶ πέσῃ, ἀψοφητὶ κείσεται, μόλις καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐξακουσθέντος τοῦ πτώματος.*

l. 13. *turpiter*, in a war against their own country.

l. 14. *quam si soli pereant.* Cp. IV. § 14 ad fin.

§ 22. l. 17. *nam neque...pereant.* Translate, 'for they cannot be torn from him, and let them by all means perish;' and see Madvig, § 458 c.

l. 19. *ita* is used by Cic. with an adjective when *ut* follows; but *tam*, if it is to be explained from what precedes.

carcer. Rome had at this time only one prison: one chamber in this, the *Tullianum* (see Sall. Cat. 55), served for the execution of sentences of death: the other for detention or temporary custody, until judgment had been pronounced. Imprisonment as a punishment was not known in the case of a free man.

l. 22. *proprium Catilinae*, his *cohors praetoria*, cp. § 24: *de eius dilectu*, 'his selected friends:' *de complexu eius ac sinu*, 'friends of his heart and bosom,' with a side-allusion to impure love.

l. 24. *imberbes*, because of their effeminate luxury, in consequence of which they are denoted as hermaphrodites: *bene barbati*, contrary to the Roman custom, for the beard was shaven first on the attainment of the 21st year, a day observed as a festival, e.g. by Augustus, cp. Cassius Dio, XLVIII. 34, and people of the higher ranks of life were accustomed to let the full beard grow (*barbam promittere*) only in time of mourning. Cp. ad Att. I. 14. 5: *concursabant barbatuli iuvenes* (youths with foppish little beards) *totus ille grex Catilinae.* It appears however from coins of the seventh century of the city, and from several express testimonies, that in Cicero's time, the

younger men usually wore a carefully trimmed beard, and it was only at the age of about 40 that it was customary to shave completely. Cp. Marquardt, Röm. Privatl. p. 600, with the notes.

manicatis et talaribus tunicis, see Gellius, noct. Att. VI. (VII.) 12: *tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia et usque in primores manus ac prope in digitos Romae atque in omni Latio indecorum fuit. Eas tunicas Graeco vocabulo nostri chiridotas appellaverunt feminisque solis vestem longe lateque diffusam non indecere existimaverunt ad ulnas cruraque adversus oculos protegenda.* Hor. Serm. I. 2. 25: *Malchinus tunicis demissis ambulat.*

l. 25. *velis amictos.* A toga too wide offended against rigid morals as Hor. Epist. I. 18. 30 shows: *arta decet sanum comitem toga.* Cp. too Id. Epod. 4. 7: *sacram metiente te viam cum bis trium ulnarum toga.*

l. 26. *in antelucanis cenis*, 'banquets lasting till dawn,' is explained by the phrase *cenare* (*bibere*) *in lucem. coena* is a false orthography, originating in a wrong derivation from the Greek *κοινή*. See similar instances in Munro's Lucret. II. 23; cp. Ritschl, Prol. p. XCVII. and Corssen, Beitr. p. 455: the latter shows that the old Latin form was *cesna*, for *ced-na*, fr. a root corresponding to the Sanskrit *khad*, 'to eat:' cp. Corssen, I.² 327.

§ 23. l. 30. *neque*, with which *solum* is to be repeated. *saltare et cantare*, just as Sall. Cat. 25, says of Sempronia: *psallere et saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae.* In the *psallere* also (a word which some have wished to read here) the *cantare* was the chief thing. The lyre was *only* used to accompany the voice, and it was chiefly because the performer was able to sing to it that it was preferred to the flute, as an instrument of musical education. Cp. Arist. Pol. v. (VIII.) 6. 10; and pro Mur. § 29: *Aiunt in Graecis artificibus eos auloedos esse, qui citharoedi fieri non potuerint.*

P. 28. l. 3. *num sunt ducturi*, 'surely they are not meaning to take.'

l. 5. *his praesertim iam noctibus.* Cicero delivered this speech on Nov. 8: but it must be noticed that at this time the Roman calendar, before its correction by Julius Caesar, was considerably behind the real season of the year: according to one supposition as much as 2½ months (so Ideler, Handb. der Chronol. II. p. 111), but from this passage this seems too high. Cp. Suet. Jul. 40: *fastos correxit, iam pridem vitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque messium feriae aestate, neque vindemiarum autumno competerent.* Ac-

cording to Suringar, Annales Ciceron. p. 625, the real date of the speech was Jan. 12, B.C. 62.

c. xi. § 24. l. 13. *praesidia*, 'defences,' 'defensive forces.'

l. 15. *confecto et saucio*, cp. c. 1. His first wound (*magnifice vicimus*, § 1) had been received, *cum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniectus est.*

l. 16. *naufragorum*, see note to I. § 30; *eiectam*, 'stranded.'

l. 18. *urbes coloniarum*, &c.: *not* a genitive of closer specification, *urbes*, sc. *coloniae*, though this would be a good Latin construction, cp. Madvig, § 286, but a partitive genitive; 'the towns of the colonies and municipia.' *Coloniae et municipia* would not have expressed here what Cic. wishes to bring into prominence, i.e. that these communities with their fortified towns will easily counterbalance Catilina, to whom his *tumuli silvestres* nowhere secure a firm *point d'appui*. Cp. too § 26 *coloni omnes municipesque vestri—facile urbes suas finesque defendent.*

l. 19. *respondebunt*, 'will make a stand against, counterbalance.' Cp. p. Flacco, § 100: *Asiaticae iurisdictioni urbana iuris dictio respondebit*, where *respondere* is placed in a similar antithesis to *opponere* and *resistere*, as here to *opponere* and *conferre*, in order to change the expression.

l. 20. *copias*, 'military resources;' *ornamenta*, 'equipments;' *praesidia*, 'defensive forces.'

§ 25. l. 23. *suppeditamur*, 'are provided with,' as the antithesis *eget* shows us. Similarly Lucret. II. 1162: *conterimus ferrum* (sc. arando) *vix arvis suppeditati*, we who hardly possess *arva* enough. Cp. Munro's note in loc.

senatu, &c. The ablatives serve as a closer specification of *his rebus*, but in sense belong quite as much to the relative sentence *quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille.*

l. 26. *causas*, the causes, the parties and the principles which these severally maintain. The spelling *causa* is found 18 times, *caussa* 26 times, in inscriptions before the time of Augustus (Corssen, Beitr. p. 445). Quintilian (I. 7, 20) tells us that *caussa* was the form used by both Cicero and Vergil, 'as their own hands show.' Cp. Peile's Gr. and Lat. Etymology, pp. 20, 331. Afterwards the form *causa* became universal. The word is derived, like many others, from the root *sku-* or *ku-*, 'to protect,' and the *caussa* was originally 'the position defended' in a law-court: it is really identical with the German *haus*, our *house*. Cp. Corssen, I.^{2} pp. 353—355.

l. 28. *iaceant*—'are inferior,' as in Ov. Fast. I. 128, *pauper ubique iacet.*

Ex hac enim parte, &c. The simpler language of Greek rhetoric would not have admitted of an antithesis long drawn out: cp. the similar passage in Demosth. in Lept. § 165: *ἐν τῇ τῶν καθημένων ὑμῶν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου γνώμῃ φιλανθρωπία πρὸς φθόνον καὶ δικαιοσύνη πρὸς κακίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ χρηστὰ πρὸς τὰ πονηρότατα ἀντιτάττεται.*

l. 31. *pietas* erga patriam; *pietas* is used esp. of a due discharge of all the duties of natural affection.

constantia, 'resolute steadfastness,' contrasted with *levitas*, which easily allows itself to be drawn into a mad neck-breaking undertaking: cp. de off. I. § 98, *hoc decorum, quod elucet in vita, movet adprobationem eorum, quibuscum vivitur, ordine et constantia et moderatione dictorum ac factorum.*

l. 32. *honestas*, 'high character:' *never* our 'honesty,' which is *probitas*, or *integritas*, Doederl. Syn. VI. 406.

P. 29. l. 1. *aequitas...prudentia*, the four cardinal virtues, as they were called, of the Socratic and Stoic schools; instead of *iustitia* the orator speaks of *aequitas*.

l. 4. *bona ratio*, to be understood of political *ratio:* the good conservative principle is fighting with the principles of the revolutionary party, which wishes everywhere to make a *tabula rasa*.

l. 6. *omnium rerum desperatione*, 'with complete despair.' *Desperatio* is seldom used absolutely in Latin, but generally has an object: as also *copia, abundantia, inopia*, &c., as I. § 26, *inopia rerum omnium:* still we have in II. § 10, *quae erat in abundantia*, and in the same way *copia cum egestate*, where however neither the rhetorical neatness nor the personification employed allowed any addition to *copia*. Cp. Nägelsb. § 19. 1.

l. 8. *si...deficiant, cogant:* 'the present conjunction is employed when a condition that is *still possible* is assumed as occurring now or at a future time, while it is at the same time intimated, that it will not actually occur.' Madv. § 347 b. We should say 'if...were to fail, &c.'

c. XII. § 26. l. 12. *iam antea dixi:* Muretus struck out *dixi*, because such an expression does not occur in the speech: but it may be an oversight committed in reducing the speech to writing, unless the reference is to § 24, cp. III. § 29.

l. 13. *mihi—consultum*, instead of *a me*, perhaps to convey the idea of personal concern as well as agency, 'my duty it has been that' &c., see note to I. § 11.

l. 14. *motu*, cp. § 28. *tumultu*, cp. note to I. § 11 ad fin.

l. 15. *consultum atque provisum*, 'careful provision should have been made.' Nägelsb. Stil. § 81. 1, 2.

Coloni...vestri, 'your fellow-citizens in the colonies and municipia.' The difference between the *coloniae* and the *municipia* since the extension of the citizenship to the whole of Italy had come to be one merely of historical origin, the former being in this respect a name of higher honour.

l. 17. *nocturna excursione*, Sall. c. 32.

l. 19. *quamquam...patriciorum*, a corrective parenthesis, 'although really they are more loyal than some of the patricians.'

l. 21. *tamen* refers to the phrase *manum certissimam putavit*, not to *quamquam*, 'though he thought he might safely rely on them, they will for all that be kept in check.' Cp. Sall. C. c. 30: *item decrevere ut gladiatoriae familiae Capuam, et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cuiusque opibus.*

l. 26. *vocari*, by the *praecones* who had been sent out.

§ 27. l. 27. *atque adeo*, 'or rather,' properly 'and indeed I will go so far as to say:' cp. Verr. III. 29: *si damnatus eris, atque adeo cum damnatus eris;* Rosc. Am. 100: *si prodierit, atque adeo cum prodierit;* ib. 29: *hoc consilio atque adeo hac amentia.* L. and S. are misleading as to this usage.

l. 28. *qui.* In a correction with *atque adeo, aut potius*, &c., a word belonging to both clauses in common is not infrequently repeated: see I. § 9, *atque adeo de orbis t. exitio.* Pro Sest. § 29: *quo civem importunum aut quo potius hostem tam sceleratum reserves?*

l. 31. *adhuc* is generally referred to *mea lenitas*, 'my leniency hitherto.' Cp. Cic. de nat. deor. II. § 166: *praeterea ipsorum deorum saepe praesentiae declarant ab iis et civitatibus et singulis hominibus consuli.* Ter. Andr. I. 2. 4: *eri semper lenitas* (=*perpetua lenitas*) *verebar quorsum evaderet.* Still from its position *adhuc* may also be referred to *si cui.*

l. 32. *hoc exspectavit*, 'it has only waited for this,' as II. c. 4, in. *quod exspectavi, iam sum adsecutus.* There is a slight irregularity: if anyone has thought, &c., *let him know that*, &c. The conditional clause indicates, not the condition of the action itself, but of the mention of the action. For a similar use of clauses introduced by *ne* and *quod*, see S. G. §§ 690, 743.

P. 30. l. 1. *Quod reliquum est*, 'for the time to come, in future.'

l. 5. *conivere:* this is the best-established spelling for such compounds of *cum:* cp. Munro, Lucret. II. p. 25, Lachmann on II. 1061, and esp. Corssen, I.^{2} 83.

l. 10. *carcerem* does not here denote imprisonment (see note on II. § 22) as Niebuhr would have it, but the place of execution, the very reason for its being called *vindex*.

l. 12. *esse voluerunt*, the usual expression, where speaking of provisions and ordinances of ancestors, and of their principles and views, as IV. § 8.

c. XIII. § 28. l. 13. *sic agentur ut...sedetur*, as immediately afterwards *sic administrabo ut...sufferat*. After the future in clauses of result, the present is regularly used in the conjunctive clause, as denoting an action contemporaneous with the principal clause; as the Latin language always avoided as far as possible the periphrastic form for the deficient future conjunctive: cp. III. § 29, *ita me tractabo...ut meminerim:* I. § 32. Other examples are given in Hahn's note to div. in Caec. § 44.

l. 14. *nullo tumultu*, see note to I. § 11.

l. 15. *post hom. mem.* See note to III. § 25.

l. 17. *togato* opposed to *sagato* and *paludato:* cp. III. § 15.

l. 24. *optandum*, in negative sentences the gerundive often denotes possibility rather than necessity: S. G. § 552: Kühner, II. § 130, note 1. Roby § 1404.

neque bonus—paucorumque; a rare construction instead of *neque—et*, which corresponds to the no less rare use of *et—que* for *et—et:* still examples of both kinds of construction are not wanting in Cicero: see pro Rosc. Am. § 48. Phil. II. § 108, &c. In these cases the construction is carried on as if a partitive particle had not preceded in the first clause. Cp. de Fin. I. § 48; III. § 3, and Madvig's note on V. § 64, 'Constat Ciceronem aliquotiens in duabus sententiis, cum instituisset geminata particula diversitatem rerum notare, neglegentia quadam (neque enim recte fit), quasi prioris particulae oblitum, alterum membrum priori particula *que* subiunxisse:...ac prorsus ex eodem genere est, cum dicitur interdum *neque—que* (Hand. Turs. IV. p. 137): nam etiam *neque* talem separationem significat, ut alterum, si ex negativa in affirmativam formam transitur, tamen particula *et* notari, non per *que* priori adiungi debeat.' See Lat. Gramm. § 458 c. and cp. Greek Syntax, § 208. Dräger, Hist. Synt. II. § 326, 4.

§ 29. l. 29: *significationibus*, more fully described in III. § 18.

l. 31. *procul*, upon the battle-fields.

l. 32. *praesentes*, standing by us to help us, § 19.

P. 31. l. 3. *pulcherrimam florentissimamque*, as in III. § 1, *fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque.*

ORATIO TERTIA.

P. 32. c. 1. § 1. l. 3. *domicilium imperii.* A very common metaphor: § 26, cp. de Nat. Deor. I. § 99: *cerebrum, cor, pulmones, iecur; haec enim sunt domicilia vitae.*

l. 7. *fati:* § 17, *exitii et fati diem.*

l. 8. *restitutam videtis.* The news of Catilina's flight had spread like wildfire through the people, so that many knew already in part, what Cicero was intending to state to them.

§ 2. l. 11. *nascendi condicio,* the position given by birth, the lot to which we have been born: cp. IV. § 22: *est uno loco condicio melior externae victoriae quam domesticae,* i.e. the state of affairs which a victory abroad brings about (the position in which it places us) is better, &c.: III. § 27, *earum rerum quas ego gessi non eadem est fortuna atque condicio quae illorum,* &c., the fate and the situation which I may expect from my actions (hence their results to me personally) are not the same as those of the people, &c.: IV. § 1: *mihi si haec condicio consulatus data est,* 'if such conditions of the consulate are offered me,' i.e. if it is to have such results for me. Cp. too Nägelsb. § 64. 1, who shows that the word means primarily 'agreement,' and hence (*a*) proposal of agreement, proposition, (whence its use in relation to marriage), (*b*) terms of agreement, perhaps the most usual meaning, (*c*) the demands arising from a compact, and hence generally 'task,' as in II. 7. 14: for orthography see note there.

l. 12. *cum voluptate,* in a pregnant sense=*cum sensu voluptatis.*

l. 14. *benevolentia famaque,* 'with thankful feelings and in triumphant fame,' has been considered a ἓν διὰ δυοῖν (Madvig § 481 a); but the second clause is an expansion and completion of the first; the well-wishing (grateful) *voluntas* expresses itself in the triumph of renown. So de Nat. Deor. II. § 62: *suscepit autem vita hominum consuetudoque communis ut beneficiis excellentes viros in caelum fama ac voluntate tollerent.* Cp. also de Off. III. § 25: *Herculem illum quem hominum fama beneficiorum memor in consilio caelestium conlocavit.* The Quirinalia on the 17th Feb. were celebrated in honour of Romulus, deified under the name of Quirinus. Later writers went even further in their exaltation of Romulus: ἐξ ἡλίου καταῆλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ Κυρίνου. πειστέον γὰρ οἰμαι τῇ φήμῃ. Julian, Or. IV. p. 154.

l. 17. *Nam toti urbi,* &c. is not a mere repetition of § 1, but contains its expansion: for the danger which threatened

the state, but just delivered, was an uncommon one, which appeared almost inevitable. We may compare the passage quoted from Cic. ep. ad Att. in the note to II. § 1.

l. 18. *templis delubris.* The *templa* were properly the consecrated spots (root *τεμ-*) set apart for the gods: the *delubra* (from *de-luo* with instrumental termination in *-brum*, like *cribrum*), the shrines for purification. Neither word necessarily denotes a building. Cp. Ramsay, p. 335.

l. 19. *restinximus*, &c. pro Sulla, § 83, '*cuius nuper ferrum retuderim flammamque restinxerim.*'

l. 21. *rettudimus.* It is not quite certain whether the meaning is 'struck back,' or 'blunted.' Halm prefers the former, which is rather supported by pro Sull. l. c., Freund and Georges the latter, for which it is easier to find really decisive parallels. Cp. pro Cluent. 123 *censorium stilum, cuius mucronem maiores nostri rettuderunt*; Plin. Pan. 18. 3 *gladios hebetari retundique gaudebant.* The adjective always means 'blunted,' as in Hor. Carm. I. 35, 39, Verg. G. II. 301. The spelling with *tt* is the only correct one in the earlier writers—for *re-tetudi*, like *rettuli*, *repperi*, &c. Madvig, § 204, obs. 1.

§ 3. l. 22. *illustrata*, in luce posita, ita ut non amplius lateret.

l. 23. *comperta*, a favourite expression with Cicero, sneered at by his enemies. Cp. note on I. § 27. l. 27.

per me, 'and that too through me.'

P. 33. l. 1. *quanta* = quantae res.

l. 3. *qui ignoratis et exspectatis*, you who are still without information and full of expectation to receive from the Consul an exact statement.

l. 5. *Principio*, 'in the first place,' to begin with this, as de Off. I. § 11.

paucis ante diebus, during the night of Nov. 8—9, hence almost a month before. The expression is chosen on purpose to carry with it an excuse for the long delay in taking strong measures against the conspirators: Introduction, § 22 ad fin. For the varying forms *ante paucos dies, paucos ante dies, paucis ante diebus, paucis diebus ante* and even (though rarely) *ante paucis diebus*, see Madvig, § 270, obs. 3, 4.

erupit as II. § 1.

c. II. l. 11. *eiciebam*—see note on II. § 1.

l. 12. *illa*, the *invidia* arising from the fact that he left the city alive.

l. 13. *sed tum*, 'at that time, I say.' For *sed* resumptive after a parenthesis see Madvig, § 480.

exterminari, in its primary sense, 'to be driven beyond our boundaries:' the Greek διορίζειν; (cp. Dr Sandys' note on Isocr. Paneg. § 174): the meaning of 'exterminate' is only found in ecclesiastical Latin.

§ 4. l. 16. *Atque ego*, &c. The connexion of the thought is, when I saw therefore that my expectation that the conspiracy would lose its *point d'appui* by the removal of Catilina, was not fulfilled, my main efforts were directed to securing clear information of the designs of the conspirators.

l. 22. *rem ita comprehenderem ut*, &c. The sentence would run with more logical exactness as follows: *ita comprehenderem ut oculis maleficium ipsum videretis quoniam tum demum (cum oculis...videretis) animis saluti vestrae provideretis.*

l. 23. *animis* is introduced for the sake of contrast with *oculis*, as II. § 1: *cum illum ex* occultis *insidiis in* apertum *latrocinium coniecimus;* pro Sulla, § 12: *non modo* animo *nihil comperi, sed vix* ad aures meas *istius suspicionis fama pervenit.* We might say 'that you might not have to turn your thoughts to securing your safety, until your own eyes saw the crime.'

l. 24. *provideretis—videretis.* Cp. for this form of *adnominatio* the example in Auct. ad Her. IV. § 29: *Hic sibi posset temperare, nisi amori mallet obtemperare.*

l. 25. *ut comperi*, through Q. Fabius Sanga (Sall. Cat. 41), the patronus of the Allobroges.

legatos Allobrogum. Introd. § 23.

l. 26. *tumultus Gallici*, in Cisalpine Gaul. Cp. the *locus classicus* in Cic. Phil. VIII. c. 1, and especially the following words: *itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant*, i.e. the word *tumultus* was used of any warlike disturbance in Italy, and also in the neighbouring Gallia Cisalpina; but otherwise *bellum* was always the word used of any war.

l. 27. *a P. Lentulo*, at the time Praetor, a dignity which he had enjoyed twelve years before, and in 71 B.C. the consulate. Expelled from the Senate for his scandalous life, he had again become a candidate for the higher offices of state, in order to effect his return. See Introd. note 66.

l. 28. *cum litteris.* The MSS. have as in the text: perhaps this may be defended by supposing that the inaccuracy is intentional. It is plain from cc. 4 and 5 that the envoys of the Allobroges received three letters to their

countrymen, but none to Catilina. The letter to Catilina was one which Lentulus gave to Volturcius. But possibly Cic. wishes to suggest that the papers of the envoys showed that Catilina himself had been intriguing with the Gauls. Nohl by an easy correction transposes the words, and reads *ad suos cives cum litteris mandatisque eodemque itinere ad C.*

l. 30. *T. Volturcium*, of Crotona in Magna Graecia, Sall. Cat. 44.

l. 32. *ut* is repeated after the relative clause, for the sake of clearness, as in pro Sest. 29.

P. 34. § 5. l. 4. *L.* Valerius *Flaccus* after his praetorship was propraetor of Asia, and was accused *de repetundis* in the year 59, for his administration of this province, and defended by Cicero in the speech still extant.

C. Pomptinus two years later, when propraetor of Gallia Narbonensis, put down a rising of the Allobroges, whose complaints, in spite of the services which at this time they did to the republic, had not been attended to. See Mommsen, IV. 213. In 54 B.C. he enjoyed a triumph on account of this exploit; and in 51 he was Cicero's legatus in Cilicia.

l. 7. *omnia...sentirent*, as de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 37: *quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re pub. cogitare putare possumus?* On *omnia* cp. de Nat. Deor. II. § 56: *nulla igitur in caelo nec fortuna nec temeritas nec erratio nec vanitas inest, contraque omnis ordo* (nothing but arrangement), *veritas, ratio, constantia.* Hor. Ep. I. 5. 2, *omne holus*, 'nothing but vegetables.'

l. 10. *pontem Mulvium*, a bridge over the Tiber, built by the censor M. Aemilius Scaurus (hence possibly the name, corrupted in the language of the common people from *pons Aemilius*) at the commencement of the *via Flaminia*, two Roman miles from the *porta Flaminia* at Rome: its modern name is *Ponte Molle.*

l. 13. *sine cuiusquam suspicione.* Sallust says (c. 45): *Illi homines militares sine tumultu praesidiis conlocatis, sicut praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt.*

l. 14. *praefectura Reatina:* Reate (now called *Rieti*) in the territory of the Sabines, on the *fluvius* and *lacus Velinus.* In the third Samnite war, the town had become a *praefectura*, i.e. a country-town, which yearly received its governor (*praefectus iure dicundo*) from Rome. (Ramsay, p. 92.) The fact that Cicero summoned troops from Reate especially, is explained by the fact that as patronus of the Reatines (see pro Scauro, § 27) he could reckon confidently upon their devotion.

l. 16. *in re publica:* the inferior MSS. read *in rei publicae praesidio:* but there seems to be no reason why we should not with Madvig retain the text: *in re p.*='in affairs of state:' *praesidio*='as an additional force.'

§ 6. l. 17. *vigilia*, S. G. § 916.

l. 19. *fit in eos impetus*, &c. Sall. Cat. 45 relates the events somewhat differently.

l. 21. *praetoribus nota solis*, not even to the envoys; hence Sallust says: *Galli* cito cognito consilio *sine mora praetoribus se tradunt.*

c. III. l. 22. *interventu P. a. F.* for they explained the object and instructions which had caused the *impetus.*

l. 23. *quae erat commissa*, 'which had already begun.'

l. 27. *Cimbrum Gabinium.* In Sall. Cat. 17 he has the cognomen *Capito: praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito.* The reason why Cicero summoned just these heads of the conspiracy may be found in Sall. c. 44: *Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt: ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant ius iurandum, quod signatum ad cives perferant: aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse.*

l. 29. *accersitus:* so the best MSS. here, and in IV. § 13, for *arcessitus.* The derivation and mutual relation of the two forms are doubtful. It has been suggested that the two are of quite distinct origin (Journ. Phil. VI. 278; Roby, I. 240): certainly there is excellent authority for each: *ac-cerso* may contain the rest of *curro:* cp. Brugmann, II. 1025. Donaldson regards *arcesso* as a compound of *accedere* with *sino:* whence the anomalous form of the perf. and supine: Lat. Gr. p. 134. This is very doubtful: it may be from *ar-* (for *ad*, cp. *ar-biter*, &c.) and *cedo*, like *incesso* from *incedo* (Brugmann, II. 1025), or (Key, § 754) from *ar-ci-* (obsolete), 'to call to one,' like *facesso*, *lacesso*, *capesso* from *facio*, *lacio*, *capio.*

l. 30. *C. Cethegus* of the *Cornelia gens*, a man of senatorial rank: Sall. Cat. 17. To him the murder of the senators had been committed, see IV. § 11, III. § 8, pro Sulla, § 53. For his character see Sall. 43 compared with III. §§ 10, 16. *tardissime:* cp. *Lentuli somnum*, § 16.

P. 35. § 7. l. 3. *quam deferri.* After *prius* and *potius*, *quam* regularly follows with the conjunctive: the construction here is like that in ad Att. II. 20. 2: *Pompeius adfirmat non esse periculum* (a Clodio), *adiurat, addit etiam se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri.*

l. 8. *si* concessive, 'even if,' especially common with a negative main clause, as pro Sulla, § 36: *si respondisset idem sentire et secum facere Sullam, tamen mihi non videretur in hunc id criminosum esse debere.*

l. 12. *coegi*, in the temple of Concord between the Forum and the Capitol, to the right of the clivus Capitolinus. *cogere* is the official term for calling together the senate.

§ 8. l. 13. *C. Sulpicium*, who is named in this passage only.

c. IV. l. 17. *Introduxi V.* Sall. Cat. 46.

fidem publicam, an assurance of amnesty in the name of the State; the Greek ἄδεια: see Sall. Cat. 47. 1, 48. 4. He adds *iussu senatus*, because the senate alone had the right to pledge the *fides publica*: see pro C. Rab. perd. reo, § 28.

l. 24. *ex omn. partibus.* Sall. Cat. 43. 2.

l. 25. *discriptum distributumque*: see on I. 9.

l. 26. *caedem infinitam*, Plut. Cic. 18. 'Lentulus had no petty or insignificant designs; but he had resolved to slay all the Senate, and of the other citizens as many as he might be able.'

l. 27. *exciperet*, 'intercept,' as hunters the game driven out of thickets by beaters: cp. Verg. Ecl. III. 18, *non ego te vidi... caprum excipere insidiis.* Aen. III. 332 and Doed. Syn. IV. 131.

§ 9. l. 28. *Introducti Galli*, Sall. Cat. 47. 2.

l. 30. *data*, the neuter, as in § 10 *deprehensa.* Madv. § 214 c.

l. 31. *a L. Cassio*, surnamed Longinus, who had been praetor in the year 66, and had been a candidate with Cicero for the consulship. Why he especially is named comes out clearly from Sall. Cat. 44. See Introd. § 23.

P. 36. l. 5. *esset necesse.* For this Sall. Cat. 47. 2 says *fatum foret*: cp. also IV. § 2 ad fin. In Greek too χρή is used not uncommonly for εἱμαρμένον ἐστί. Plutarch tells the same story in Cic. c. 17, Vol. V. p. 52, ed. Clough.

l. 7. *fatalem...ad interitum* as IV. § 2 ad fin. Liv. V. 19: *fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis* ('appointed by fate').

l. 8. *post virginum absolutionem*, sc. Vestalium; so they are often called for the sake of brevity. Nothing further is known about this *iudicium*, which Cic. mentions also in Brut. § 236. An incest committed by one of the Vestal Virgins was considered a *prodigium* and always expiated by great state-sacrifices. See Merivale, VII. 358—361 (new ed.).

l. 9. *Capitolii incensionem*, in the consulship of L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Norbanus, B.C. 83. The origin of the

conflagration remained unknown: see App. Bell. Civ. I. 83, and Tac. Hist. III. 73: *arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello: sed fraude privata.* This passage is elucidated by what Tac. Hist. IV. 54, remarks upon the destruction of the Capitol by the attack of the soldiers of Vitellius (A.D. 69): (Gallos rebelles) *nihil aeque quam incendium Capitolii, ut* finem imperio adesse crederent, *impulerat.*

§ 10. l. 12. *Saturnalibus.* Dec. 19th. Introd. § 22.

c. V. l. 14. *tabellas*, the little wooden double tablets (diptychs), the inner sides of which, hollowed out and covered over with wax, contained the writing: cp. Becker, Gallus II.[3] 393 ff. (p. 338, English abridgement). For letters these tablets were tied round with fine string (linum) and the knot sealed with wax. Tablets were also used, which were not folded, but only for writing of a more temporary character. A number of the folded tablets have been found: 26 (Corp. Inscr. Lat. III. 921) in the mines of Transsylvania, 127 at Pompeii in 1875. Cp. Marquardt, Röm. Privatl. p. 801 ff.; Bruns, Fontes[5], p. 275.

l. 20. *sibi*, to him, the writer.

recepissent, 'that to which they had bound themselves,' 'what they had promised to him:' Q. Cic. de petit. cons. § 19, *horum in causis ad te deferendis quid tibi eorum sodales receperint et confirmarint scio.*

l. 21. *tamen*, 'in spite of all,' sc. *quamvis in manifesto scelere teneretur*, cp. ad Att. I. 16, *cum illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret.*

l. 23. *ferramentorum:* Cethegus appears to have chosen this general expression instead of *telorum* in order to denote that his fancy was rather for the quality of the article than for the use of those *gladii et sicae.*

l. 24. *studiosum*, 'a fancier:' *debilitatus atque abiectus*, 'crippled (speechless) and crushed' (cp. or. in Pis. § 88, *debilitatio et abiectio animi tui*); *conscientia* belongs to *conticuit*, see note below on *subito scelere demens.*

l. 27. *in eandem sententiam*, sc. *datae* or *scriptae.*

l. 30. *notum quidem*, 'a well-known seal too.'

l. 31. *avi tui*, of P. Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul in 162, and is mentioned by Cic. Phil. VIII. § 14 as *princeps senatus.* The words *qui amavit unice patriam* are explained by IV. § 13.

P. 37. § 11. l. 2. *eadem ratione*, 'to the same effect,' i.e. here 'contents:' cp II. § 9: *in dissimili ratione.* Others explain,

'with the same formalities' as those which were observed at the opening of the other letters.

l. 6. *exposito atque edito*, as c. VI. ad init., Cic. de Leg. II. § 17: *qui magistratu abierint, edant et exponant* (apud censores) *quid in magistratu gesserint. Exponere* denotes the detailed statement of the several particulars, *edere*, reciting them for record: cp. Ulpian in Dig. 2. 13: edere *est etiam copiam describendi facere vel in libello complecti et dare vel dictare.*

l. 9. *per quem*, through P. Umbrenus and Gabinius: see note to § 14 ad fin.

l. 12. *subito scelere demens: subito* belongs as adverb to *demens:* 'conscious of his crime he suddenly lost his head,' just as in § 10, *conscientia repente conticuit*, 'in his consciousness of guilt.'

l. 15. *dicendi exercitatio*, 'practice, readiness in speech.' Cicero's critical judgment of Lentulus as an orator runs otherwise in Brut. § 235: *neque multo secus P. Lentulus, cuius et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formae dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo.*

l. 16. *qua semper valuit*, which has never yet left him in the lurch, *qua omnes superabat*, in which he always sought to surpass all. *improbitas* = insolence, cp. *improbus anser*, Verg. Georg. I. 119, with Conington's note, and Juv. III. 282.

§ 12. l. 23. *sine nomine*, without address or signature, as we should say; but we must remember the Latin introductory formula in letter-writing. *Quis sim*, &c. We may compare the tenor of the letter in Sall. Cat. 44, who gives it in a more carefully polished shape. In Cicero it bears in its careless composition, which betrays great haste (notice *cura* repeated, *scies* and its position, *quid tibi sit necesse*), quite the stamp of being in its original form.

l. 25. *quid...necesse*, immediate action: in Sallust the form of the expression is: *consideres quid tuae rationes postulent.*

l. 27. *Gabinius*, &c. See §§ 6, 14 ad fin. and Sall. Cat. 40: *praeterea Gabinium arcessit* (Umbrenus), *quo maior auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo praesente coniurationem aperit*, &c. Ib. 44, *Allobroges...per Gabinium ceteros* (coniuratos) *conveniunt.*

l. 29. Donatus on Ter. Phorm. II. 3. 12 (I. 359) quotes this passage to show that *insimulare* may be used of a true, as well as of a false charge: cp. in Verr. Act. II. Lib. v. § 153, *malo id, quod tu defendis, his populoque Romano quam id, quod ego insimulo, probari.*

§ 13. l. 30. *certissima...certiora*, as pro Planc. § 5: *mihi autem non id est in hac molestissimum, contra illum dicere, sed multo illud magis, quid in ea causa contra dicendum est, in qua quaedam hominum ipsorum videtur facienda esse contentio.* de Off. III. 121: *esse te quidem mihi carissimum, sed multo fore cariorem, si....* We must be careful therefore about the translation of the superlative *certissima* as contrasted with the still more forcible *certiora*.

P. 38. l. 1. *color, oculi, &c.* Cp. Auct. ad Herenn. II. c. 5: *accusator dicet, si poterit, adversarium, cum ad eum ventum sit, erubuisse, expalluisse, titubasse, inconstanter locutum esse, concidisse, pollicitum esse aliquid; quae signa conscientiae sint.*

l. 3. *inter se.* This is the classical form of the reciprocal pronoun (see Zumpt, § 300, and especially Nägelsb. Stil. § 89): *invicem* in this sense belongs to the later usage. Cp. Cic. ad Att. VI. 1. 12, *Cicerones pueri amant inter se*, with Plin. Ep. VII. 20. 7, *invicem ardentius diligamus:* and see Hand. Turs. III. 397 sqq.

c. VI. l. 6. *Indiciis expositis.* For the recording of the indicia cp. pro Sulla, § 41 f., *Itaque introductis in senatum indicibus constitui senatores qui omnia indicum dicta, interrogata, responsa perscriberent. At quos viros! non solum summa virtute et fide, cuius generis erat in senatu facultas maxima, sed etiam quos sciebam memoria, scientia, celeritate scribendi facillime quae dicerentur persequi posse....Credo esse neminem, qui his hominibus ad vere referendum aut fidem putet aut ingenium defuisse. Quid deinde? quid feci? Cum scirem ita esse indicium relatum in tabulas publicas, ut illae tabulae privata tamen custodia more maiorum continerentur, non occultavi, non continui domi, sed statim describi ab omnibus librariis, dividi passim et pervulgari atque edi populo Romano imperavi.*

l. 7. *de summa re p.* i.e. *cum summa res p. ageretur:* see note to I. § 14, on *ad summam rem publ.*

l. 8. *a principibus*, by the men of the highest distinction, who also voted first, since in giving votes the *viri consulares* came immediately after the *consules designati*. Cic. Phil. II. 12 quotes a number of names.

§ 14. l. 13. *virtute*, 'resolution,' as IV. 55.

l. 16. *forti fidelique:* the adjectives here are predicates. Wölfflin (On alliterative combinations, p. 28, and 85) shows in detail that this was an official formula; cp. Liv. XXIII. 46: *eorum forti fidelique opera in eo bello usi sunt saepe Romani.*

l. 17. *usus essem* is not quite an exact expression, for *laudantur* not *laudati sunt* follows.

l. 18. *collegae meo.* C. Antonius Hybrida, on whose certain support Catilina had reckoned; Introd. § 7 f. He can hardly have been still in Rome at the time; for the senate had decreed upon the news of the arrival of Catilina in the camp of Manlius: *Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.* Sall. Cat. 36.

l. 20. *a suis...removisset*, i.e. that he had given up all connexion with them in private as well as in public affairs. Even if the senate, in consequence of the previous public connexion of Antonius with Catilina, might have expressed approbation at his repudiation of the party of revolution, still we can hardly suppose that such approval was expressed quite in the terms which Cicero gives here: he has evidently used ambiguous phrases intentionally, whether it be, that he only introduced them when subsequently writing the speech down, or that in the speech actually delivered he indulged in covert blame of his absent colleague. Ihne, Röm. Gesch. VI. 247, remarks 'this praise of his neutrality is "damning with faint praise," and is a sufficient proof of the more than ambiguous position of Antonius. The delicately chosen expression *removere* is significant of the earlier understanding between Antonius and Catilina.'

l. 21. *cum se praetura abdicasset*, for no magistrate so long as he was invested with his official dignity could be brought to a judicial trial. The Roman public law knew no positive removal from office, but only abdication, which, even if in an exceptional case it was brought about by compulsion from without, still always retained the appearance of a voluntary abandonment of office. For the outward form of resignation, see Plut. Cic. 19: 'Lentulus having been convicted, resigned his office, for he happened to be praetor (*στρατηγῶν*), and having put off in the Senate his praetexta (*τὴν περιπόρφυρον*) he put on instead raiment suited to his calamity.'

l. 22. *in custodiam*, into a so-called *libera* or *privata custodia*; in the words of Plutarch *εἰς ἄδεσμον φυλακήν*. Cp. Sall. Cat. 47.

l. 25. *in L. Cassium.* Against him, and against P. Furius, Q. Annius Chilo, and P. Umbrenus, the decree could not be executed, for they had taken to flight in time. Ceparius had done the same, but he had been arrested during his flight.

l. 30. *in Q. Annium.* The MSS. of Cicero give the name as *Q. Manlium*, doubtless from a confusion with the centurion Manlius. The name *Annius* appears quite certain, because (1) he is twice called so by Sallust, Cat. 17 and 20: (2) it is said in Q. Cic. de petit. cons. § 10: *qui* (Catilina) *ex curia Curios et*

Annios sibi amicissimos comparavit. That Q. Annius was a senator we know from Sall. Cat. 17.

P. 39, § 15. l. 5. *novem hominum...poena*, those who might be punished; cp. especially IV. § 5 ad fin. The actual sentence did not follow till Dec. 5. The punishment could only be inflicted upon the five in prison: hence the merely apparent contradiction to pro Sulla, § 33: *quinque hominibus comprehensis atque confessis interitu rem publ. liberavi.* Cp. Sall. Cat. 50 and 55.

l. 7. *supplicatio*, literally 'bending of the knee' (from *sub* and *plicare*), 'day of prayer,' here a feast of thanksgiving, a kind of *supplicatio* which was also called *gratulatio* (see IV. §§ 10, 20). In the earlier times *supplicationes* of this kind, with which *feriae* were always united, lasted from one to three days, then usually for five days (as probably at this time: see de prov. consul. § 27), later they were extended over still longer time; e.g. the senate decreed in B. C. 55 a supplicatio for fifteen days on account of Cæsar's victories in Gaul: cp. Merivale, I. 398; Ramsay, p. 338.

l. 8. *meo nomine*, on my account, i.e. from gratitude to me, as IV. § 5: Phil. XIV. § 29: *decerno igitur eorum trium nomine quinquaginta dierum supplicationes.*

l. 9. *primum*, 'for the first time,' as Phil. IX. § 13: *statua inaurata equestris qualis L. Sullae primum statuta est.* Phil. II. § 114: *hi primum cum gladiis in regnantem impetum fecerunt.* Tusc. Disp. I. § 31: *Pherecydes Syrius primum dixit* (for the first time made the assertion) *animos esse hominum sempiternos.* Both *primum* and *primo* are used to signify 'for the first time,' *primum* alone signifies 'firstly,' and *primo* means also 'at first.'

l. 10. *his decreta verbis.* Phil. II. § 13: *L. Cotta rebus iis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, &c.*

l. 11. *Italiam bello liberassem* appears a rhetorical exaggeration, which Cicero uses for his own glorification also in ad Fam. v. 2. 8: *eum qui curiam caede, urbem incendiis, Italiam bello liberasset.* Cp. IV. § 2; pro Sulla, § 33. All that was certain was that the arrest of the heads of the conspiracy had lessened the perils of the war.

l. 12. *si conferatur, hoc interest*, 'if any were to compare, this difference shows itself.' This same form of the members of a conditional clause is found in II. § 25: *si contendere velimus —intellegere possumus.* This method of expression is used to show that the distinction is a really existing one, not depending on the hypothesis of a comparison being constituted. So in Greek: cp. Soph. Phil. 1322: *ἐάν τε νουθετῇ τις εὐνοίᾳ λέγων,*

στυγεῖς. The older edd. read *interit* (τοῦτο διαφέρει ἄν), but against the best MSS. Cp. Mayor on Juv. x. 141, Madvig § 348 b, Roby § 1574.

l. 16. *factum atque transactum*, a common legal formula; cp. Ter. Andr. 248: *facta, transacta omnia*, where Wagner quotes this passage.

l. 17. *patefactis indiciis*, as in Sall. Jug. 73, 1 *indicio patefacto.*

l. 20. *quae religio*, &c. The orator could express himself thus without exaggeration, because the death of Glaucia and his companions had been at least helped on by the armed interposition of Marius. For the insurgents had been obliged by want of water to surrender in the temple of the Capitol, whither they had fled for refuge: thereupon the heads of the party had been shut up in the Curia Hostilia, in order to bring them to trial: but the enraged people rose in a body, climbed the roof of the senate-house, and slew the prisoners. Vell. Pat. II. 12: *Marius Servilii Glauciae Saturninique Apulei furorem...consul armis compescuit hominesque exitiabiles in Hostilia curia morte multavit.* Cp. Mommsen, III. 207—215.

religio, 'a religious scruple.' *Religio* is not so good a form. Cp. Munro on Lucret. I. 63. Corssen II.² 466. The derivation from the same root as *ligare*, 'to bind,' making the primary meaning of the word 'sacred obligation,' 'conscientious duty,' is adopted by Corssen I.² 445. J. B. Mayor on Cic. de Nat. D. II. 72. Max Müller (Hibbert Lectures, p. 11) is inclined to prefer the derivation of Cicero (l. c.) *a relegendo*, favoured by Curtius (Principles I. 441), but this is much less satisfactory. Cp. Munro on Lucr. I. 109.

c. VII. § 16. l. 28. *opes concidisse.* Cicero expresses himself thus in order to quiet the people: but otherwise in the fourth oration, where the object was to exaggerate the dangers which menaced the state in case untimely clemency was shown.

l. 31. *Lentuli somnum;* see the passage from Cic. Brut. quoted in note to *dicendi exercitatio*, § 11 and cp. § 6.

l. 32. *Cassii adipes* 'corpulence.' The earlier edd. read *adipem*, but the plural form is also found, and is well supported here. Asconius remarks in the argument to Cic. Or. in toga candida, in which he briefly sketches Cicero's rivals in his candidature for the consulship: *Cassium, qui iners ac stolidus tum magis quam improbus videretur, post paucos menses in coniuratione Catilinae esse apparuit, ac crudelissimarum sententiarum fuisse auctorem.*

Cethegi ...temeritatem. Sall. Cat. 43: *Inter haec parata et decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos*

dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere: facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse, sque, si pauci adiuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

P. 40. l. 2. *tam diu*, 'only so long,' as *tantum*, 'only so much,' § 25: pro Sulla, § 22, *de huius spe tantum dico*, &c.: so too §§ 62, 71.

l. 3. *omnium aditus tenebat*, 'knew how to get at everybody:' for *tenebat*, 'understood,' cp. pro Sulla, § 32, and Verr. v. § 65: *hominem nostis: consuetudinem omnium tenetis*, Verg. Aen. IV. 423, *sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras.*

l. 5. *erat ei...aptum*, i.e. 'he was capable of conceiving and of determining upon a crime.'

l. 7. *descriptos*, 'marked out, destined.'

l. 10. *occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret* could not follow *quod*, if *obiret* did not precede. The four verbs are so placed that each two go together, and form a synonymous accumulation, as I. § 31, *patefacta illustrata, oppressa vindicata.* In English we may say: 'in which he was not himself looking to it, meeting its needs, on the watch, taking all pains.' Mommsen corrects *occurreret: vigilare, laborare, frigus*, &c.

§ 17. l. 12. *paratum*, 'ready to strike,' as Phil. IX. § 26: *expedito nobis homine et parato opus est.*

l. 14. *domesticis insidiis:* cp. II. § 1: *cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus.*

l. 17. *Non Saturnalia constituisset*, like the men mentioned in § 10, but he would have struck his blow earlier: cp. Introd. § 22.

l. 24. *haec tanta in re p. coniuratio*, 'this conspiracy so widely extended in the state,' as § 15: *ex tanta coniuratione.*

l. 28. *dimicandum...fuisset:* Zumpt, § 519 ad fin., shows that the indicative is idiomatic in such cases, but that the subjunctive is also legitimate.

l. 29. *cum ille...esset:* the earlier editions had *dum ille... fuisset*, but Madvig, Opusc. I. p. 189, showed that the text, which is given by the better MSS., was necessary for the syntax.

c. VIII. § 18. l. 32. *Quamquam.* A transition to the relation of the prodigies, by which the greatness of the impending danger was to be represented still more forcibly to the superstitious people. Cicero sang of these phenomena at length in his poem upon his consulship: cp. the very similar passage (too long for quotation) in de Divin. I. c. 11 ff.

P. 41. l. 2. ***esse vidcantur:*** cp. note on p. 7. l. 15.

l. 3. ***cum...tum vero*** correspond.

l. 5. ***praesentes,*** see II. § 29.

l. 8. ***ab occidente,*** 'in the west,' the quarter from which evil was threatened. For this use of *ab*, 'on the side of,' cp. Liv. XXXI. 24. 8, *ab Dipylo accessit:* Philip approached Athens, not *from* Dipylus (which was a gate of the city), but *on the side of D.* Caes. Bell. G. III. 25, *castra* ab *decumana porta non munita esse.*

l. 12. ***canere,*** used for 'to predict,' from the fact that the earliest oracles and prophets spoke in verse, has here, as often elsewhere, lost all sense of vocal utterance.

l. 13. ***praetermittendum...relinquendum:*** the first, to leave untouched (from oversight); the second, left unregarded (intentionally); see de Off. III. § 9: *minime adsentior iis qui negent eum locum a Panaetio praetermissum, sed consulto relictum.*

§ 19. l. 15. ***Cotta et Torquato.*** Introd. § 5.

complures in Capitolio res. Cic. de Div. II. § 45: *tum statua Nattae, tum simulacra deorum Romulusque et Remus cum altrice belua vi fulminis icti conciderunt.* Of lightning and other heavenly phenomena, the phrase always is *de caelo*, 'down from heaven,' as in de Div. I. § 93, *propter aëris crassitudinem de caelo apud eos* (Etruscos) *multa fiebant*, i.e. many meteors appeared; hence the well-known phrase *de caelo servare*, 'to look out for, to watch the phenomena of the heavens.' Matthiae and most of the earlier edd. for *res* read *turres*, not so well.

l. 17. ***depulsa,*** from their basements.

l. 18. ***legum aera.*** Cassius Dio says (XXXVII. 9): 'the letters of the pillars on which the laws used to be engraved were melted and became liquid,' i.e. they flowed together and became illegible. Laws were usually preserved in and around temples. The fact that they were brazen tablets, which were then melted, is no reason for supposing them to have been the Twelve Tables: on the contrary, we know that these were set up in the Forum. Cp. Tac. Hist. IV. 40: *tum sorte ducti per quos redderentur bello rapta quique aera legum vetustate delapsa noscerent figerentque.* Numerous instances of the use of the plural of a word denoting *material* are given by Nägelsb. § 49, e.g. *pices*, 'lumps of pitch,' *cerae*, 'waxen tablets,' *panes*, 'loaves of bread.'

l. 21. ***fuisse,*** 'to have stood.' The people remembered the fact that it had stood. The present after *meminisse* was impossible here: Madv. § 408. 6. obs. 2. Cp. Liv. X. 23,

12 : *Eodem anno* (B.C. 296) *Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot feneratoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis multatis, ex eo quod in publicum redactum est, aenea in Capitolio limina...*, et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra *infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt.* This, one of the most ancient works of Roman art, is probably that still preserved in the Capitoline Museum, and one of its finest ornaments. Cp. Mommsen, I. p. 494, Middleton's Rome, p. 57. We often find it represented on coins, esp. of the empire, as a kind of symbol of the divine care exercised over the Roman state. See Preller, Römische Mythologie, p. 596. Becker, Handb. I. 291 ff.

l. 22. *haruspices ex tota Etruria :* cp. Momms. I. 190, 'But the Etruscan occupied himself above all in the interpretation of signs and portents. The Romans heard the voice of the gods in nature: but their bird-seer (*auspex* or *augur*) understood only the signs in their simplicity, and knew only generally whether the occurrence boded good or ill...But beyond the Tiber matters were carried much farther. The penetrating Etruscan read off to the believer his future fortunes in detail from the lightning and from the entrails of animals offered in sacrifice, and the more singular the language of the gods, the more startling the event or prodigy, the more confidently did he declare what they foretold, and the means by which it was possible to avert the mischief. Thus arose the lore of lightning, and of the inspection of entrails, and of the interpretation of prodigies—all of them, and the science of lightning especially, devised with the hair-splitting subtlety, which the mind indulges in when pursuing absurdities...How deeply repugnant all this was to the Roman character is shown by the fact that, even when people came at a later period to employ the Etruscan lore in Rome, no attempt was made to naturalize it.' For the derivation of *haru-spex*, from the root found in *hari-olus*, *hira*, 'intestine,' and its diminutive *hilla*, χορ-δή, χόλιξ, &c., cp. Curtius, Principles, I. 203, Corssen, I.^{2} 99, 509, &c.

l. 26. *nisi...flexissent:* the conversion of the fut. perf. *nisi flexerint* of the *oratio recta.*

§ 20. l. 28. *et...neque.* Madvig, § 451 c.

l. 31. *facere*, to which the *consulentes* are to be supplied, as the subject. See Zumpt, § 617. *in excelso :* cp. pro Cluent. § 76, *in occulto stare*, and many exx. in Nägelsb. § 21.

P. 42. l. 4. *illustrarentur*, &c., they would come out of the darkness into the light, so that they could be entirely seen through.

l. 6. *locaverunt.* It was especially the censors' duty to let public works and buildings by contract; still a *locatio operis*

publici by the consuls is frequently mentioned, for they always took it on themselves, if there were no censors to do it. For the year 65 Q. Lutatius Catulus and M. Licinius Crassus had been chosen censors; but they soon laid down their office from want of concord, without having held a census.

l. 7. *neque superioribus consulibus*, under the consuls of the two preceding years. In de Div. II. § 46, he again speaks of the coincidence as a prodigy: *mirabile autem illud, quod eo ipso tempore, quo fieret indicium coniurationis in senatu, signum Iovis in Capitolio collocaretur.*

c. IX. § 21. l. 10. *praeceps*, 'inconsiderate, senseless.' *mente captus*, 'blind of heart:' cp. *oculis captus*, &c.

l. 18. *Illud vero*, &c. Quintil. v. 11. 42: *ponitur a quibusdam et quidam in prima parte decorum auctoritas, quae est ex responsis, ut: Socratem esse sapientissimum. Id rarum est, non sine usu tamen. Utitur eo Cicero in lib. de harusp. resp. et in contione contra Cat. cum signum Iovis columnae impositum populo ostendit. Quae cum propria causae sunt, divina testimonia vocantur, cum aliunde arcessuntur, argumenta. illud*, 'what follows is,' cf. Madv. § 485, 6.

praesens Ernesti explains by *conspicuum, manifestum.* The word here approaches more closely the notion *divinitus factum* (§ 22), inasmuch as Cic. says: 'is there not shown therein so visible an interposition of divine rule, that we must believe that it is through the action of the Supreme Deity that, &c.?' This signification of *praesens*, perhaps unique, though an analogy is offered by *praesens deus*, 'a god rich in help' (see Tusc. I. § 28, and above § 18), is proved from the preceding *nutu ac potestate administrari*, which implies a presence and a continuous action of the gods in the destiny of Rome.

l. 20. *ut...statueretur? ut* explanatory, in connexion with *factum esse*, without which the sentence would have run: *illud, quod signum statutum est, nonne ita praesens est, &c.?* Cp. Verr. II. § 158: *De quo homine hoc auditum est unquam, quod tibi accidit, ut eius in provincia statuae...deicerentur?* for *statuas... deiectas esse.* Cic. de Fin. I. 10. 34: *id ne ferae quidem faciunt ut ita ruant.* Cp. Madvig on de Fin. p. 144 (new ed.).

l. 21. *in aed. Concordiae*, Introd. note 85. Cicero's house was on the Palatine, so that the forum lay between it and the Capitoline.

§ 22. l. 31. *ille, ille*, 'it was J., ay, J.' So perhaps we may give the force of the anaphora.

P. 43. l. 1. *Dis...ducibus.* See II. § 29, and esp. pro Sulla, § 10: *O di immortales! vobis enim tribuo, quae vestra sunt: nec*

vero possum tantum meo ingenio dare, ut tot res, tantas, tam varias, tam repentinas in illa turbulentissima tempestate rei publicae mea sponte dispexerim.

l. 4. *ab Lentulo*, &c. These words are placed first because they belong to *res creditae* as well as to *commissae litterae*.

l. 8. *consilium esset ereptum:* according to the well-known saying, *quos deus perdere vult dementat*, which is merely a modern translation of a fragment of an uncertain tragedian quoted by Schol. of Cod. Laurentinus on Soph. Antig. 621—4: *ὅταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ | τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον ᾧ βουλεύεται.* Cp. Publilius Syrus, l. 612: Stultos facit fortuna quos vult perdere; and the Iambic lines in Lycurgus, Leocr. § 92. The fragment first quoted, *ὅταν...πρῶτον*, is cited by Athenagoras, Apol. cap. 26. The word *dementare* is not classical. Cp. Sir H. Taylor's Philip van Artevelde, P. 2, Act 2, Sc. 3:

> 'Human intelligence on murders bent
> Becomes a midnight fumbler.'

l. 11. *non nolle.* Proof of this was given by the rising of the Allobroges, which was put down by C. Pomptinus in B.C. 61. Liv. Epit. 103: *C. Pomptinus praetor Allobrogas, qui rebellaverant, ad Solonem (Solonium?) domuit.* Cp. Mommsen, IV. 213.

l. 12. *a patriciis hominibus.* See Introd. note 35.

c. X. § 23. l. 17. *ad omnia pulvinaria*, 'at all the cushions of the gods,' i.e. in all temples. The *pulvinaria* ('*pulvinar est lectulus, in quo deorum statua reclinabatur*,' Serv. ad Verg. Georg. III. 533) were solemnly spread (*lectisternium*) at all festivals of prayer and thanksgiving (*supplicationes*); because such festivals were always associated with banquets to the gods.

§ 24. l. 28. *P. Sulpicium*, who when tribune of the commons in B.C. 88, had proposed a law for the distribution of the new citizens and the freedmen into all the tribes, and for the transfer of the war against Mithridates from Sulla to Marius. Upon this Sulla returned with his legions to Rome, took the city by storm, and proscribed twelve leaders of the opposite party, amongst them Marius and Sulpicius, and declared them enemies of their country. Vell. Pat. II. 19: *Sulpicium adsecuti equites in Laurentinis paludibus iugulavere, caputque eius erectum et ostentatum pro rostris velut omen imminentis proscriptionis fuit.* For further details see Mommsen, III. 266.

l. 31. *Cn. Octavius*, an adherent of Sulla, in 87 expelled his colleague Cinna, who had proposed the recall of those banished by Sulla, and had renewed the *lex Sulpicia de novis civibus et libertis.* Cp. Mommsen, III. 316.

l. 32. *acervis...redundavit*, a very bold zeugma. Cic. in Cat. IV. § 11, uses *acervi civium*, Tac. Hist. III. 19, *cumuli* by itself, to express the same idea.

P. 44, l. 1. *Superavit postea*, at the end of the year 87, whereupon Cinna and Marius declared themselves consuls for the year 86: the latter 17 days after died in this his seventh consulship. Of the bloody reaction Vell. Pat., II. c. 22, says: *nihil illa victoria fuisset crudelius, nisi mox Sullana esset secuta.* Cp. Mommsen, III. 322.

l. 3. *lumina civitatis*, the consuls Cn. Octavius and L. Merula, Q. Catulus the conqueror in the Cimbric war, the orator M. Antonius, the Pontifex Q. Scaevola, P. Crassus, the brothers L. and C. Caesar, and other leaders of the optimates. See Mommsen, u. s. For the phrase *lumina c.* cp. Phil. II. § 54: *Cn. Pompeium, quod imperii P. R. decus ac lumen fuit;* and almost the same words in Phil. V. § 39.

Ultus est, B.C. 82.

l. 5. *quanta deminutione civium.* Florus II. 9. 24: *minus est, quod apud Sacriportum, apud Collinam septuaginta milia amplius Sulla concidit: bellum erat. Quattuor milia deditorum inermium civium in villa publica interfici iussit: isti tot in pace non plures sunt? Quis autem illos computare potest, quos in urbe passim quisquis voluit occidit? donec admonente Fufidio vivere aliquos debere, ut essent quibus imperaret, proposita est ingens illa tabula et ex ipso equestris ordinis flore ac senatu duo milia electi, qui mori iuberentur.* Cp. Mommsen, III. 350.

l. 6. *M.* Aemilius *Lepidus* when consul in the year 78 attempted to overthrow the Sullan constitution, but, conquered by his colleague, he fled into Sardinia, and there he died of a broken heart. Cp. Mommsen, IV. 23—25.

l. 7. *Q.* Lutatius *Catulus*, the son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, of whom Cicero (in Pis. § 6) remarks: *me Q. Catulus, princeps huius ordinis, et auctor publici consilii, frequentissimo senatu patrem patriae appellavit.*

§ 25. l. 15. *uno* strengthens the superlative, see Zumpt, § 691, Madvig, § 310, obs. 2.

post hominum memoriam, I. § 18: we should say 'within the memory of man.'

l. 17. *barbaria*, 'barbarian empire:' cp. pro Sulla, § 76: *neque enim ulla gens tam barbara aut tam immanis umquam fuit, in qua non modo tot, sed unus tam crudelis hostis patriae sit inventus.*

l. 20. *salvi*, see note to II. § 18.

l. 22. *tantum*, see note to III. § 16 on *tam*.

l. 23. *quantum...restitisset*, 'as would remain over from the massacre if it raged without limit,' 'as the massacre would leave surviving.' The MSS. give *infinitae caedi*, which could only be accounted for by the inclination of the Romans to personify abstract conceptions. But Mommsen's conjecture, *infinita e caede*, is very easy and probable.

c. xi. § 26, l. 27. *Quibus pro tantis rebus:* the natural English rendering of this would be 'for *these great* services.' See exx. in Nägelsb. § 93. 3.

l. 28. *praemium virtutis*, which belongs to *virtus*, as pro Mil. § 81, *praemia laudis:* on the other hand *ornamenta honoris* in line 14, 'honourable distinctions.'

l. 29. *monumentum* not *monimentum*, as Munro on Lucret. VI. 242. Corssen, II.^{2} 314, holds that, from ancient times down to the Romance languages, *documentum* and *monumentum* were the usual forms. The derivation is of course from *moneo*, with the instrumental termination.

postulabo: cp. IV. 12 *me severum praebebo:* de Orat. I. 61 *equidem non dubitabo quod sentio dicere.*

P. 45. l. 1. *mutum*, which cannot speak, *tacitum*, which does not speak. Cp. Plautus, Capt. 480, *quasi muti silent.*

l. 4. *alentur:* for the metaphorical force of *alere* (to keep fresh) for *conservare*, *sustentare*, with which words it is often found connected (see IV. § 17), cp. Cic. Lael. § 104: *sed nec illa exstincta sunt, alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea.*

l. 6. *eandemque diem*, 'term, period,' hence *fem.* Roby § 337. Cic. says: I perceive that so long as the state continues to endure, so long will the remembrance of my consulship be retained. Here he says *propagatam* ('extended, protracted'), because after the severe shock which the state had sustained, it appeared as though the term of its existence had nearly run out. Jeep conjectures *prope natum.*

l. 8. *unoque: que* has been bracketed by Madvig, so that the clause *uno...tempore exstitisse* would have to be regarded as explanatory of *ad memoriam consulatus mei*, i.e. that at one time. There seems to be more justice in the view that *intellego* has a pregnant sense 'I have the sure and joyful consciousness,' 'I am glad to think,' and so explained the dependence of the two infinitives upon *intellego* seems less strange.

l. 10. *non terrae, sed caeli regionibus*, a rhetorical hyperbole, which rests partly upon the geographical ignorance of the Romans. For *regiones* (=boundary lines), cp. pro Arch. § 23, *si res eae, quas gessimus, orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur;* § 29,

si, quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas; pro Sest. § 129, pro Balbo § 64, *Caesar in iis nunc locis, quae regione* (according to the direction of the heavens) *orbem terrarum, rebus illius gestis imperium populi Romani definiunt.* Cic. often uses this hyperbole of the deeds of Pompeius: see IV. § 21, pro Sest. § 67: *qui imperium populi Romani orbis terrarum terminis definisset.* Further explanation is afforded by Varro de Ling. Lat. v. § 31: *ut omnis natura in caelum et terram divisa est, sic caeli regionibus terra in Asiam et Europam. Asia enim iacet ad meridiem et austrum, Europa ad septemtriones et aquilonem.*

c. XII. § 27. l. 14. *condicio,* see note to III. § 1.

l. 17. *facta sua recte* (= merito) *prosunt:* Cic. has added *recte* to *prosunt* in order to divert from himself all suspicion of any jealousy, which might have arisen from his expression. The Greek phrase καλῶς ποιῶν is somewhat similar: see the commentators on Dem. Olynth. I. § 28. Others read *recte facta sua prosunt,* and join *recte* with *facta.* See Matthiae in loc.

l. 22. *mihi...nihil...nocori potest,* 'to myself personally no harm can now be done by those villains.' Notice the periphrasis, to which Cicero is compelled to have recourse, because *noceo* governs the dative, and therefore cannot be used *personally* in the passive. Madv. § 244 b.

l. 26. *conscientiae;* cp. pro Mil. 23, 61: *magna vis est conscientiae, iudices, et magna in utramque partem; ut neque timeant qui nihil commiserint, et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent qui peccarint.* But the word is more commonly used to mean 'consciousness of guilt,' as in the same passage, *nulla conscientia examinatum.* It is often found in the purely intellectual sense 'consciousness,' 'knowledge.' Cp. Hamilton's Metaphysics, I. 196.

§ 28. l. 30. *hostis,* of a foreign foe, as distinguished from *inimicus,* a fellow-citizen, but one on terms of personal enmity: hence the bitterness of the taunt here; 'the attacks of men within our walls, who are yet not worthy to be considered fellow-citizens.' Cp. Cic. de Off. I. § 37.

P. 46. l. 4. *ad vitae fructum,* 'as regards the produce, the acquisitions of life.' We should say 'that life can bring.'

l. 5. *cum praesertim* or *praesertim cum,* without any difference of meaning, is used most commonly (as here) with the force 'especially since;' but also 'and that though;' Madvig (on De Fin. II. § 25) writes: 'cum *praesertim* significet, adiungi ad id, quod generalius dictum sit, aliquid proprie, quo id augeatur, hoc quod adiungitur apud Latinos, maxime Ciceronem, saepe ex contrario

genere est, ut ideo maius esse videatur id, quod dicatur, quod tamen (nihilo minus) fiat aut sit.' Cp. too Mayor on Phil. II. § 60. l. 13, and Halm on pro Sulla, § 6.

in honore vestro, 'in the way of distinctions conferred by you:' for as Cic. says (pro Planc. § 60), *in virtute multi sunt ascensus, ut is gloria maxime excellat, qui virtute plurimum praestet: honorum populi finis est consulatus.*

§ 29. l. 8. *privatus tuear:* ad Att. I. 19, 6: *ego autem, ut semel Nonarum illarum Decembrium iunctam invidia ac multorum inimicitiis eximiam quandam atque immortalem gloriam consecutus sum, non destiti eadem animi magnitudine in re publ. versari et illam institutam ac susceptam dignitatem tueri.*

l. 9. *ornem*, 'make still more splendid.'

l. 11. *me...tractabo* (instead of *me geram*, perhaps to avoid a word already used three times in this passage), an unusual form of speech, found also in ep. ad Fam. XIII. 12: *Q. Fufidius fuit in Cilicia mecum tribunus militum, quo in munere ita se tractavit, ut accepisse ab eo beneficium viderer, non dedisse:* see Nägelsb. Stil. § 110. 3, who points out that this usage closely corresponds with that of *adhibere*, in ad Quint. Frat. I. 1. 7, 22: *permagni hominis est*, se sic adhibere *in tanta potestate* (*proconsulari*) *ut nulla alia potestas ab iis, quibus is praesit desideretur.*

l. 12. *ut meminerim...curemque;* see note to II. § 28 ad init. No one who has read any of Cicero's later writings will doubt that he kept this promise.

l. 13. *virtute, non casu*, which he hopes to attain to by being always ready to display the same courage and zeal for the maintenance of the Republic: cp. pro Sulla, § 83 ad fin., *sed cum agatur honos meus amplissimus.....ego sim tam demens, ego committam, ut ea, quae pro salute omnium gessi, casu magis et felicitate a me quam virtute et consilio gesta esse videantur?*

l. 14. *iam est nox;* see Introd. § 25.

Iovem, see § 21.

l. 17. *priore nocte*, in which the ambassadors of the Allobroges were arrested with Volturcius. We may suppose that the consul had provided for the safety of the town that night by watches. A similar demand for the proper protection of the *tecta* is found in II. § 26.

ORATIO QUARTA.

P. 47, c. I. § 1. l. 1. *Video...conversos* is not a rhetorical phrase; it was natural that many senators, in the confused course which the debate appeared to be taking, looked with anxiety to the presiding consul, to see whether and in what way he would bring the discussion into its proper track.

l. 5. *iucunda...grata,* 'iucundum *est, quod iuvat et voluptatem affert:* gratum, *ob quod gratiae debentur.*' Hence not all that is *gratum* is *iucundum:* cp. ad Att. I. 8, 1. 17. 6, and esp. III. 24, ad fin.: *nam ista veritas, etiamsi* iucunda *non est, mihi tamen* grata *est.*

l. 6. *voluntas,* good will, regard to me. The orator begs them to give up, not *voluntas* altogether, but that which makes itself known in this way.

l. 8. *vestris,* sc. coniugibus liberisque: see §§ 2, 3, 12, 24, &c.

condicio; see note to III. § 2.

l. 10. *perferrem, feram.* It is common, in repeating a verb or noun, to put it the second time in a simpler form, as not needing the repetition of any qualification. For an instance with a noun cp. Plin. Ep. v. 6. 23: *Est et aliud cubiculum... fonticulus in hoc; in fonte crater.*

§ 2. l. 14. *in quo omnis aequitas continetur,* 'in which all that is fair and just is centred:' inasmuch as the *iudicia* were held in the forum. For the meaning of *contineri* with the ablative alone see Nägelsb. § 112.

l. 15. *consularibus auspiciis* is not dative, as the passage is generally construed, because the Campus Martius was not in itself a *templum* or *locus inauguratus,* but could only be considered *consecratus* by virtue of the *auspicia* taken at the commencement of the consular elections. Cp. pro Rab. perd. reo, § 11: *qui in campo Martio, comitiis centuriatis, auspicato in loco crucem ad civium supplicia defigi et constitui iubes.* For the facts to which Cicero here refers see I. § 11.

l. 16. *non curia.* Nothing is known of any threatening of Cicero in the senate-house; but perhaps he is remembering the fate which was to have befallen the consuls Cotta and Torquatus in the senate. See Introd. § 5.

l. 17. *commune perfugium;* see de domo sua, § 109: *quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius quam domus unius cuiusque civium? hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.*

l. 18. *lectus;* see I. § 9.

sedes honoris, the ***sella curulis***, words added in the MSS. as a gloss: cp. pro Sulla, § 81: *si tuus parens etiam in ipsa suspicione periculi sui tamen humanitate adductus advocationem* [i. e. gregem advocatorum] *hominis improbissimi sella curuli atque ornamentis et suis et consulatus honestavit, quid est quam ob rem consulares, qui Catilinae adfuerunt, reprehendantur?*

l. 20. *multa tacui*, a covert reference to men of distinction, like Caesar and Crassus, who were suspected of an alliance with the conspirators.

l. 21. *meo quodam dolore*, i.e. whilst I alone, so to speak, had to bear the pain, but the danger threatened you.

P. 48. l. 1. *virginesque Vestales*, perhaps with a reference to the charge of incest brought against Catilina, Introd. § 3.

l. 2. *templa atque delubra;* cp. note on § 18.

l. 7. *ad perniciem rei p.;* cp. III. § 9: *se esse tertium illum Cornelium ad quem* regnum *huius urbis atque* imperium *pervenire esset necesse.*

l. 9. *prope* is added by Cic. to *fatalem*, to soften an expression which might seem too arrogant.

c. II. § 3. l. 14. *huic urbi praesident;* see pro Sulla, § 86: *di patrii ac penates, qui huic urbi praesidetis.*

l. 15. *pro eo...ac mereor*, like *pro eo ac debui*, used by Servius Sulpicius in ep. Fam. IV. 5. 1: 'in proportion to my deserts:' *relaturos esse gratiam*, i.e. 'to requite, reward.'

l. 16. *si quid obtigerit*, for the more usual *si quid acciderit.*

l. 17. *Nam...immatura consulari.* This passage is quoted by Cicero himself in Phil. II. § 119: *etenim si abhinc annos prope* XX *hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Consulari* is used rather than *consuli* because the object was not here to bring into prominence the dignity which Cicero held at the time, but generally the rank and position to which he had attained. To a man, says Cicero, who has attained the *finis honorum*, death cannot come untimely. Besides, *consuli* would here have evidently conveyed too narrow an idea, as though the question were merely of the dangers which Cicero had still to expect during his consulship which was soon to terminate, and in which office and guards protected him from prosecution and from treacherous attacks, and not far more of those which might befall him after his abdication of office.

l. 19. *ille ferreus*, a man of such hardness, want of feeling. Plin. Ep. II. 3. 7: *saxeus ferreusque es;* Tibull. I. 10. 2: *ferus et vere ferreus.*

l. 20. *fratris*, Q. Cicero, who was at the time *praetor designatus.*

l. 21. *horumque*, senatorum: *lacrimis*=maestitia, as in pro Sestio, § 26. *flens universus ordo* [senatorius] *cincinnatum consulem orabat.* Osenbrüggen (on pro Milon. § 105, *sed finis sit: neque enim prae lacrimis iam loqui possem*) points out how often the word is used, where we should say 'emotion' or 'sorrow,' criticising the expression *lacrimae*, which plays a great part in the speeches of Cicero. Both the Greeks and the Romans were accustomed to give expression to their emotions with a freedom little consistent with our ideas of manly dignity. Homer is full of instances of this. Cp. pro Planc. ad fin.: *plura ne dicam tuae me etiam lacrimae impediunt vestraeque, iudices, non solum meae.....istis vestris lacrimis de illis recordor, quas pro me saepe et multum profudistis.* In the Aeneid *fletus* occurs 10 times, *flere* and *lacrimare* 14 times each; and *lacrimae* 43 times. Caesar B. G. I. 39 says of his soldiers when they were afraid of fighting the Germans *neque interdum lacrimas tenere potuerant.* See Nägelsb. § 9. 3.

l. 24. *uxor*, Terentia; *filia*, Tullia; *parvulus filius*, Marcus, who at the time was only two years old. Cic. mentions his relations perhaps with a recollection of the discussion with his wife during the preceding night described by Plut. Cic. c. 20, vol. v. 55, Clough: cp. Drumann, v. 502.

l. 27. *gener*, C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the first husband of Tullia, who died when still very young, before Cicero's recall from exile. As he did not attain to the quaestorship till B.C. 58, he could not yet be present in person in the senate, but stood before the open doors of the temple. Cp. Tac. Ann. II. 37, and esp. Plin. Ep. VIII. 14. 4: *erat antiquitus institutum, ut a maioribus natu non auribus modo, verum etiam oculis disceremus, quae facienda mox ipsi ac per vices quasdam tradenda minoribus haberemus. Inde adulescentuli statim castrensibus stipendiis imbuebantur, ut imperare parendo, duces agere, dum sequuntur, adsuescerent: inde honores petituri adsistebant curiae foribus et consilii publici spectatores ante quam consortes erant. Suus cuique parens pro magistro, aut cui parens non erat, maximus quisque et vetustissimus pro parente.* Tullia at this time was probably not yet fourteen years of age, but she had been betrothed to Piso for about five years. Cp. Abeken's Cicero, p. 41 (ed. Merivale), and ad Att. I. 3. 7.

l. 28. *in eam partem*, 'only in the direction (of wishing),' only so that I must wish.

l. 30. *una rei p. peste* is an instrumental ablative; 'by the one ruin of the state which destroys all.' We should say 'in the common ruin.'

§ 4. l. 32. *incumbite*, a nautical metaphor, carried on in

procellas. Cp. Verg. Aen. v. 15: *iubet validis incumbere remis.* As here in IV. 397, IX. 73, &c.

P. 49. l. 1. *providetis:* we might have expected *providebitis,* the full meaning being, 'which are threatening you, and will burst upon you, if you do (Lat. shall) not take heed.' But the tense is assimilated to *impendent.*

l. 2. *iterum trib. pl.* In earlier times it was lawful for tribunes of the commons to be elected again, even for the succeeding year: as with C. Licinius and L. Sextius B.C. 376—367: afterwards limitations were introduced. It is plain from Liv. Epit. 59 that there was a prohibition which forbade a second administration of the tribunate: but its date is not known. Cp. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr. I. 504. The violation of the constitution by Ti. Gracchus was all the more flagrant that while tribune he again canvassed for the tribunate for the next year, during which attempt he was slain by P. Scipio Nasica. His brother Gaius succeeded where he had failed, and held the tribuneship for two years in succession, but broke down in his attempt to carry his election for a third time. Mommsen, III. 93, 119, 126.

l. 3. *agrarios,* i.e. the party which wished for and urged distributions of lands.

l. 4. *C. Memmium,* see note on I. § 4.

l. 11. *id est initum consilium,* the clause which sums up generally, 'in short they formed the design,' &c.

l. 14. *relinquatur,* the present, because in *id est initum cons.* in connexion with the preceding presents lies the thought: 'it is intended.'

c. III. § 5. l. 16. *iudiciis iudicavistis,* 'have decided by judicial decisions,' a skilful turn of expression: the Senate, he says, must recognise that it is in a manner bound in its judgment by previous decrees.

l. 18. *virtute,* see note to III. § 14 ad init. *diligentia,* see note to I. § 7.

l. 22. *meo nomine,* see note to III. § 15.

l. 23. *honos* and *lepos* are the common forms in Cic. Madvig, § 41. The Medicean Vergil has always *arbos, honos,* but *labor.* Lachm. on Lucret. VI. 126 writes 'septimo urbis conditae saeculo nemo, nisi fallor, dicere potuit *maeros.* dixit quidem Lucretius *colos* et *vapos,* item alii *honos, odos, labos, lepos,* sed omnia post brevem syllabam praeter *arbos* femininum.'

l. 25. *praemia amplissima,* in what these consisted in the case of the envoys is unknown, probably in a considerable

pecuniary reward. In the case of Volturcius the senatus consultum mentioned by Sall. Cat. c. 30 probably came into operation; this decreed to a free man, *qui indicasset de coniuratione, impunitatem eius rei et sestertia ducenta.* Cp. also pro Sulla, § 51, with Halm's note.

l. 27. *in custodiam*, note to III. § 14.

§ 6. l. 29. *institui*, 'I have undertaken it, begun it,' cp. § 24.

l. 30. *tamquam integrum*, as still an open question, just as though you had given no judgment in the case, with reference to *quae sunt omnia eius modi*, &c.

l. 31. *praedicam* refers especially to the demand *ut ante noctem statuatur.* In c. 7 the means of executing it are stated.

P. 50. l. 3. *haberi:* notice how this differs from *factam esse.*

numquam putavi, before I had experience of it. We are accustomed to say, 'I would not have believed.'

l. 6. *ante noctem*, since the peril of the state does not allow of any postponement of the decision. But a decree of the senate was not valid, except when made before sunset.

l. 7. *Huic adfines*, as pro Sulla, § 70, *huic adfines sceleri:* on the other hand, in § 17 of the same speech we have *huius adfines suspicionis;* when there is reference to an offence, *adfinis* with the dative means 'not unconnected with,' hence 'deservedly suspected of;' with the genitive it means rather 'implicated in:' cp. pro Sull. 17 and 70, and see Madv. § 247 b. obs. 4 with § 290 d. obs.

l. 11. *multas iam provincias:* the rhetorical climax does not allow us to understand among them the Italian territories: but why should not Cicero have spoken with a slight exaggeration of provinces? Indeed Catilina, apart from the insurrection which he afterwards attempted to excite in the province of Gaul, had assured his adherents that he could reckon upon armies in Spain and Mauretania. See Sall. Cat. 21, Introd. § 9.

l. 12. *sustentando aut prolatando*, 'by delay and procrastination' instead of vigorously attacking it.

c. IV. § 7. l. 15. *Video adhuc duas esse:* see Introd. § 27 f.

D. Silani, 'qui primus sententiam rogatus est, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat:' Sall. Cat. 50. The usual order adopted by the presiding consul in asking the opinions of the senators was to address first the *consulares*, and among them again first the *princeps senatus;* after the *consulares* the *praetorii, aedilicii, tribunicii;* and lastly the *quaestorii.* But if any magistrates elect were present these voted before the

other members of the class to which they were about to belong: hence the consuls elect voted first of all, a *praetor designatus* before the *praetorii*, and so on.

l. 16. *haec delere*, see note to i. § 21 ad fin.

l. 17. *C. Caesaris*, '*qui tum praetorio loco dixit*,' as the phrase is in Cic. ad Att. xii. 21. 1, because he was then *praetor designatus*.

l. 18. *ceterorum suppliciorum*, see Caesar's speech in Sall. Cat. 51, §§ 8, 28 and esp. § 15.

l. 20. *pro*, 'in accordance with,' 'as we might expect from.'

in summa severitate versatur, is active in the direction of the extremest rigour, 'desires to have the greatest severity shown.' Nägelsb. § 109.

l. 22. *conati sunt*=consilia inierunt as in § 12 ad fin. *spiritu*, cp. i. § 15.

l. 26. *recordatur* does not stand for *commemorat*, a usage which does not occur in classical language, but Cicero puts into the mouth of Silanus the thought, that he had certainly made his proposal for punishment with a remembrance of earlier cases of this kind. Hereby Cic. defends Silanus also against the main charge of Caesar, that he had brought forward *genus poenae novum* (Sall. Cat. 51. 18: *novum consilium*, and ibid. § 8 and § 41). Seeing that the *genus poenae* had already occurred so often, Silanus had not found it necessary (he says) to refer to it especially.

l. 28. *aut necessitatem naturae*, &c. Death is either sent by the destiny of the gods, or it is embraced in order to escape greater evils, so that it appears rather a boon than a punishment. Compare Schiller's saying: Death cannot be an evil, for it is universal; and Isocr. Paneg. § 84: *τὰ σώματα ταῖς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις ἀπέδοσαν*. Caesar in Sall. Cat. 51. 20, says: *de poena possum equidem dicere..., in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse.* Merivale well remarks in loc., 'a remarkable avowal of materialism in the chief pontiff of the national religion.'

l. 30. *Itaque...inventa sunt*. The fine irony of this excellent passage has been much misunderstood, from supposing that Cicero here in his lively style changes from the *oratio obliqua* to the *directa*. On the contrary he seems at first to be confirming Caesar's view, and it is only afterwards that he points out the difficulties of executing it. For the fact which Cicero asserts that death is no *cruciatus*, is confirmed by (*itaque*) the example of the *sapientes* and *fortes viri:* whereas

perpetual imprisonment must appear as a most exquisite punishment, and on this ground had only been used in the Roman law under special circumstances as a means of security against men who were politically dangerous. Thus the proposal which appears to be the more lenient is skilfully proved to be the more severe.

P. 51. l. 1. *Municipiis dispertiri*, i.e. to give them over to the various municipia for custody: see Sall. Cat. 51. 43. As for the form of the expression, Cic. is quoting Caesar's vote in single clauses, and then expressing his judgment upon each.

l. 2. *Habere iniquitatem*, 'to involve' as Cic. de Off. II. c. 22 ad fin., *quam habet* (res) *acquitatem*, &c.

l. 4. *si placet*, so usually in this formula without the addition of a dative.

§ 8. l. 8. *horribiles custodias circumdat*, Caesar is hereby compelling, says Cicero, the municipia to guard them most rigorously; he is therefore to blame, if the punishment of imprisonment becomes *horribilis*.

l. 10. *Sancit:* Justinian, Institt. II. 1, § 10: *ideo et legum eas partes, quibus poenas constituimus adversus eos, qui contra leges fecerint, sanctiones vocamus*. The term is still used in modern jurisprudence. Cp. IV. § 10.

quos condemnat, 'whose condemnation he is proposing.'

l. 16. *Itaque*, &c. Cicero speaks as though he regarded the views of the *maiores* about the punishments in the lower world as fabulous: otherwise he would be himself doing away with his own admission that death is a *quies miseriarum*. Lucret. in a powerful passage at the end of Book III. shows that the fabulous sufferings of Tartarus are really undergone in the present life by the wicked.

l. 17. *in vita* = dum vivant: *formido*, 'image of terror,' *proposita*, 'placed before the eyes.'

l. 19. *voluerunt*, 'have held,' and so made this view the belief of the common people: see note to II. § 27 ad fin.

c. v. § 9. l. 22. *mea quid intersit*, 'what is to my own interest,' i.e. what decision I must wish for most on merely personal considerations. *mea* is placed out of its natural position (after *quid*) for the sake of emphasis, cp. de Fin. v. § 5, *sed* vos *squalidius*, illorum *vides quam niteat oratio*.

l. 24. *popularis*. Cp. pro Sestio, § 96: *duo genera semper in hac civitate fuerunt eorum qui versari in re p. atque in ea se excellentius gerere studuerunt: quibus ex generibus alteri se* populares, *alteri* optimates *et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea, quae faciebant quaeque dicebant, multitudini iucunda volebant*

esse, populares, *qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur.*

l. 26. *auctore* 'the responsible adviser,' *cognitore* 'advocate.' By *cognitor* was understood in the Roman civil process the representative of a plaintiff or defendant, who was appointed in the presence of the adversary for an action at law, and from that time undertook the whole conduct of the suit for the plaintiff or defendant. Ramsay, p. 277. Caesar is called so here, because if the senate adopts and decrees the *sententia* of which Caesar is the *auctor*, he will then be obliged to defend it on behalf of the senate against everyone.

l. 27. *illam*, which the orator had touched upon, before he discussed that of Caesar, § 7. In § 11 too, it is said of the *sententia* of Caesar, *sive hoc statueritis*, because its discussion had just preceded.

l. 28. *amplius negotii*, 'embarrassment to a greater extent.' This is not a common phrase: but cp. Caesar, Bell. G. VI. 9, *amplius obsidum.*

Sed tamen, but, even if it is the case, still.

l. 30. *enim*, 'then.' With these words Cic. returns to the preceding *si eritis secuti sententiam*, and now commences a more exact discussion of the *sententia.*

l. 31. *maiorum...amplitudo:* the Iulian gens delighted to trace their descent from Iulus the son of Aeneas. They were undoubtedly among the most ancient and illustrious patrician families at Rome.

l. 32. *perpetuae in rem p. voluntatis.* The orator adroitly praises the patriotic sentiments of Caesar, which he has proved by not having shrunk from proposing a severe judgment upon the enemies of his country and the people.

P. 52. l. 3. *saluti populi consulentem:* contrasted with *voluntati consulere:* cp. the fragment of an orator in Aquila Romanus de fig. sent. § 34: *tam diu Ti. Gracchus populo gratus fuit, quam diu leges ad voluntatem eius, non ad utilitatem rei publ. compositas ferebat.* The phrase *dicere ad voluntatem* (not *ad voluptatem*) corresponds to the Greek πρὸς χάριν λέγειν. See too pro Sulla, § 25.

§ 10. l. 4. *de istis*, of the democratic opposition in the senate.

non neminem, 'more than one.' Referring to this we have afterwards, contrary to our own form of expression, *is*, as in Cic. Tusc. I. § 35: *veri simile est cum optimus quisque maxime posteritati serviat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem*

sensum sit habiturus: here *is* refers to *optimus quisque* (=*optimi*). Cp. also Halm's note on pro Sest. § 97: *Quis ergo iste optimus quisque? de numero si quaeris innumerabiles; sunt principes*, &c.

l. 5. *de capite.* It was only the comitia centuriata which had the right to pass judgment on the *caput* of a citizen, a term, it must be remembered, which included not only his life, but also his civic rights and position.

videlicet, 'as they say.'

l. 6. *Is:* before this *at* has perhaps fallen out, as Kayser has remarked. We may translate 'these very men.'

nudius tertius, i.e. nunc dies tertius est. Madv. § 202 obs.

l. 10. *quaesitori.* Cicero calls himself so, because as consul he had conducted the preliminary examination of the Allobroges and of the conspirators who had been brought before the senate. The consuls took just the same position in the time of the emperors, when the criminal jurisdiction of the senate had received a very important extension. What Cic. says here of the democratic party is only so far correct, that the resolutions of the senate were adopted with unanimity.

gratulationem, i.e. gratiarum actionem, as § 20. The meaning 'congratulation' is a derivative one, because if one man offers another such congratulation, he thanks the god on his account. Here the word=*supplicatio*, see note to III. § 15.

l. 11. *de re*, 'about the fact,' sc. *eam contra rempubl. factam esse.*

causa, 'matter in dispute,' the case to which the *res* will belong, if it is submitted to a judicial decision, cp. § 6: *sed ego institui referre ad vos...et de facto quid iudicetis, et de poena quid censeatis.* Pro Mil. § 15: *at enim Cn. Pompeius rogatione sua et de re et de causa iudicavit.*

l. 12. *At vero*, 'but on the other hand,' taking up a very different position from the *non nemo* of the democratic party.

intellegit, as he had proved by not declining to vote in the senate, and thereby recognising it as competent for the *iudicium*. We must notice carefully that Cic. says *intellegit* and not *dicit.*

legem Sempronium. Cic. is trying by a skilful inference to refute Caesar's appeal to the *lex Porcia aliaeque leges* (Sall. Cat. 51, §§ 22 and 40), in which latter the lex Sempronia is included (see note to I. § 28). For if Caesar admitted the law '*ne de capite civium Romanorum iniussu populi iudicaretur*,' to its full extent, he was obliged either to refuse the judicium himself, or by taking part in it, to make it clear that he regarded those, on whom he allowed himself to pass judgment *iniussu populi*, as declared *hostes patriae*, and no longer as fellow-citizens. Cicero

mentions especially the *lex Sempronia*, because he immediately afterwards uses the fate of its proposer as an argument against Caesar.

l. 15. *denique* 'and in fact:' *latorem legis* never denotes, strictly speaking, the man who carries, but only the man who proposes a law; though of course the two may often amount to the same thing. Cp. note on Hor. Ep. II. 1. 153.

l. 16. *iniussu populi*, whence Cic. argues that still less could the lex Sempronia offer any hindrance in the case of others, who had become *hostes patriae*.

rei publ. is dative: cp. pro Sulla, § 76 ad fin., *itaque eos non ad perficiendum scelus, sed ad luendas rei publicae poenas Furiae quaedam incitaverunt.* pro Sestio, § 140, *omnes fere reipublicae poenas aut praesenti morte, aut turpi exsilio dependerunt.*

l. 17. *largitorem et prodigum*, although he had courted the favour of the people by extravagant largesses: see de Off. II. c. 16: *omnino duo sunt genera largorum, quorum alteri prodigi, alteri liberales: prodigi qui epulis et viscerationibus et gladiatorum muneribus, ludorum venationumque apparatu pecunias profundunt in eas res, quarum memoriam aut brevem aut nullam omnino sint relicturi, &c. prodigum.* The *singular* of the adjective is used as a substantive:—1. When it is used as a *collective* noun, e.g. *parcitur inermi:* and this esp. in case of proper names, very frequently in Livy. 2. When the context makes it quite clear what is meant: e.g. *assentatio non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem digna est* (Cic. Lael. § 89). 3. In a construction which imitates the philosophical language in which the ideal *sapiens* is always spoken of in the singular: hence *constantis est:* and the like. 4. When in close connexion with a substantive, as here: cp. pro Mur. § 7: *quod esset aut ab amico aut a gratioso, aut a consule postulandum.* (Partly from Nägelsb. § 28.)

l. 18. *pernicies* is a curious word in itself and from its bye-form *permities*. Cp. Munro's critical note on Lucret. I. 451. Corssen, II. 422, and more fully in Beiträge, 266 seqq., denies them to be variations of the same word, and shows that (though Munro l.c. writes *permiciali*) *permities* is the better-established form, being found e.g. six times in the Medicean Tacitus: for *pernicies* he is willing to accept the derivation from *nec-* as found in *nex*, and a bye-form in *noceo; permities* he derives from the Sanskr. root *mi-*, 'perire,' with which it is connected as *inscitia* with *sci-*. Cp. Stolz, Lat. Gr.², p. 286.

l. 20. *etiam*, to be taken of time: 'still.' Madvig conj. *iam.*

l. 24. *se iactare*, 'to show oneself off,' i.e. as the champion of the interests of the people.

in pernicie, 'while ruining,' quite different from *in perniciem*, 'to the ruin of.'

l. 26. *publicationem bonorum*. Even after the sentence of death had been pronounced by the majority of the senate, it was proposed to add to this the confiscation of the possessions of the conspirators, but Caesar opposed this, 'not thinking it fair that those who had rejected the mildest part of his sentence [the perpetual imprisonment in various municipia] should avail themselves of the severest. And when many insisted upon it he appealed to the tribunes, but they would do nothing; till Cicero himself yielding, remitted that part of the sentence.' Plutarch, Cic. 21, Vol. v. p. 57, ed. Clough.

c. vi. § 11. l. 30. *comitem*, sc. Caesarem: *ad contionem*, in which Cic. wished to communicate to the people the decree of the senate. *contio*, a contracted form of *conventio* (cp. Roby I. 420, l. 28), should never be spelt *concio*. 'While in the voting-assemblies, the *comitia*, though they were far from dealing strictly with the point of qualification, it was on the whole burgesses alone that appeared; in the mere popular assemblages on the other hand—the *contiones*—every one in the shape of a man was entitled to take his place and to shout, Egyptians and Jews, street-boys and slaves. Such a "meeting" certainly had no significance in the eyes of the law: it could neither vote nor decree. But it practically ruled the street, and already [in the days of the Gracchi, two generations before Cicero] the opinion of the street was a power in Rome, so that it was of some importance whether this confused mass received the communications made to it with silence or shouts, whether it applauded and rejoiced, or hissed and howled at the orator.' Mommsen, III. p. 99.

P. 53. l. 1. *populo Romano purgabo:* the best MSS. have *p. R.* with no verb following: the gap is filled up in various unsatisfactory ways in the inferior MSS. [*exsolvitis* II. *defendetis* III.]: the conjecture of Müller, accepted by Nohl and Laubmann, at least gives excellent sense. *Populo Romano* is the dative 'of the person judging' (S. G. § 477), 'in the eyes of the Roman people.' Cp. Phil. XIV. 17, *si parum vobis essem sine defensione purgatus.*

l. 5. *ita...liceat ut*, i.e. as truly as I wish that I may be allowed ..so truly am I influenced. See Madvig, § 444 a. obs. 3 on this use of *ita—ut* in asseverations. Very common in the form *ita me di ament, ut.*

l. 9. *Videor enim mihi videre*, the figure of *subiectio sub oculos, ὑποτύπωσις*, or as Cicero expresses it (de Orat. III. 53,

202), *permultum movet...illustris explicatio, rerumque quasi gerantur sub aspectum paene subiectio.* Cp. ad Heren. IV. 35, 65, *demonstratio est, cum ita verbis res exprimitur, ut geri negotium et res ante oculos esse videatur.* For the form of the expression cp. de Orat. II. 33 (note).

l. 10. *lux orbis terrarum,* an appellation applied to Rome, 'the light of the whole earth,' because it was the ruling city, from which as from the sun all light went forth: on the other hand, *lumen gentium* (pro Sulla, § 33) as the point of light, in contact with which other *gentes* stood in the shade. Cp. Bentl. on Hor. Carm. II. 1. 21.

arcem: cp. pro Sull. § 33, *urbem hanc denique, sedem omnium nostrum, arcem regum ac nationum exterarum, lumen gentium, domicilium imperii, quinque hominum amentium ac perditorum poena redemi.*

l. 12. *sepulta in patria,* with a similar metaphor Tacitus says (Hist. III. 35) of Cremona, when reduced to ashes, *sepultae urbis ruinae;* cp. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 5, *tot oppidum cadavera,* in the beautiful letter of Servius to Cicero after the death of Tullia: for *acervos* see note to III. § 24.

l. 13. *aspectus,* 'the form presenting itself to the view, the ferocious appearance,' cp. pro Sulla, § 15, *ita se gerebat, aspectu atque vultu ut inimicus esse amplissimis ordinibus, infestus bonis omnibus, hostis patriae videretur.* § 66, *eius aspectus, concursatio, stipatio, greges hominum perditorum, metum nobis seditionesque adferebant.* This use of the word in such passages Nägelsbach (§ 49. 2) traces to the influence of the predicate; and compares Sen. Clement. 1, 3, *regis* cura *excubat pro salute singulorum atque universorum,* where we should only say '*the king* watches over the safety.' So here we should say 'I have always before my eyes Cethegus.'

§ 12. l. 16. *purpuratum esse huic Gab.,* 'Gabinius as enjoying his highest honours.' *Purpurati* was a name given in the Macedonian (cp. Cic. Tusc. I. 43, 102, Liv. xxx. 42) and especially in the Asiatic monarchies to the ministers and courtiers in highest favour with the king, from their purple dresses embroidered with gold. The sarcastic expression serves to suggest the conception of the oriental despotism, which it was intended to introduce.

l. 18. *matrum familias: familias,* an old gen. sing. is sometimes left unchanged as here, sometimes changed into *familiarum* after *patres* or *matres,* Madv. § 34, obs. 2.

l. 19. *virginum Vestalium:* as *virginum* has just preceded, perhaps we ought to strike it out hero. *Vestalis* is often used as a substantive without *virgo.*

l. 21. *misera atque miseranda.* Multa sunt misera sed non sunt miseranda. Ut, si torqueatur homicida, miser est quidem, sed non miserandus; innocens si torqueatur, et miser et miserandus. *Schol. Gronov.* See note on *atque* at § 18, l. 13.

l. 23. *praebebo* has much more support in MSS. than the usual reading *praebeo*. Madvig (Opusc. II. p. 336 note) argues that Cic. is not threatening what he is about to do, but he is justifying the rigour to which he sees himself driven. But the point seems to be that there is still much to be done, before the conspirators have been duly punished: cp. III. 26.

si quis pater familias. In such cases the rigour went so far that if the master of the house was killed by one of the slaves, all slaves, who at the time of the murder were under the same roof, were put to death unsparingly. This penalty was inflicted in all its severity even as late as the emperor Nero (Tac. Ann. XIII. 32 and especially XIV. 42) in spite of a threatening demonstration of the people.

l. 27. *an*=an potius.

l. 28. *importunus*, 'without feeling,' hence constantly united with *crudelis*. Cp. pro Sulla, § 75, *repente ista tanta importunitas inauditi sceleris exarsit*, and see note to I. § 23.

P. 54. l. 3. *vestigiis*, cp. Tac. Ann. II. 60, *mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia.*

l. 4. *deflagrati*, as in Ennius ap. Cic. Tusc. III. § 44: *fana flamma deflagrata.* The word occurs in Vitruvius with an active meaning, but it is almost always neuter: *aedes deflagravit.*

§ 13. l. 8. *Nisi vero*, a common formula, 'qua id quod contra dici possit, absurdum esse significatur,' always ironical. Cp. Madv. § 442, c. obs. 1.

L. Julius *Caesar* Strabo, consul in 64, with C. Marcius Figulus. His sister Julia had married first M. Antonius Creticus, by whom she had three sons, among them the future triumvir Antonius; after his death she had married the conspirator Lentulus.

l. 12. *avum.* L. Caesar was the son of L. Caesar, the consul of the year 90, and of Fulvia, who was a daughter of M. Fulvius Flaccus (consul in 125, see I. § 4), whom L. Opimius killed as an adherent of C. Gracchus, together with his sons.

L. Caesar iratus in senatu 'ecce,' dixit, 'qui vivit et habet meam sororem in matrimonio. Avus meus iussu consulis occisus est et is vivit.' *Schol. Gronov.*

l. 13. *filium eius impuberem.* This was the younger son of Fulvius (but 18 years of age), whom his father had sent with a herald's wand to Opimius, to prevent bloodshed by offering terms of reconciliation. But Opimius, as Plutarch tells us (C. Gracchus, c. 16, Vol. IV. p. 548, ed. Clough), 'said that it did not become them to send messengers and capitulate with the senate, but to surrender at discretion to the laws, like loyal citizens, and endeavour to merit their pardon by submission. He commanded the youth not to return, unless they would comply with these conditions. Gaius, as it is reported, was very forward to go and clear himself before the senate; but none of his friends consenting to it, Fulvius sent his son a second time to intercede for them as before. But Opimius, who was resolved that a battle should ensue, caused the youth to be apprehended, and committed into custody; and then with a company of his foot-soldiers and some Cretan archers set upon the party under Fulvius. These archers did such execution, and inflicted so many wounds, that a rout and flight quickly ensued. Fulvius fled into an obscure bathing-house, but shortly after being discovered he and his elder son were slain together.' Of the fate of the younger Fulvius Plutarch tells us, c. 17, p. 550 D. S., 'as an addition still to all their inhumanity they barbarously murdered Fulvius's younger son: his only crime being, not that he took up arms against them, or that he was present in the battle, but merely that he had come with articles of agreement, and for this he was first imprisoned, then slain.' L. Caesar quoted the ruthlessness, which was shown then, as a proof that rigorous proceedings against the conspirators would have good justification.

l. 15. *factum* is here practically a substantive; hence *quod. quod consilium?* The judgment of Mommsen (III. 119) as to the tendency of the reforms of Gaius Gracchus is very different, viz. that 'he did not at all, as many good-natured people in ancient and modern times have supposed, wish to place the Roman republic on new democratic bases, but that on the contrary he wished to abolish it, and to introduce in its stead a Tyrannis—that is, in modern language, a monarchy not of the feudal or of the theocratic, but of the Napoleonic absolute type—in the form of a magistracy continued for life by regular re-election and rendered absolute by an unconditional command of the formally sovereign comitia, an unlimited tribuneship of the people for life.'

l. 16. *Largitionis voluntas;* especially by the *lex frumentaria* of Gaius Gracchus, which provided for a monthly distribution of corn to the poorer citizens at a low price. See Mommsen, III. 109, and on the fatal effects of this, pp. 120 and 122.

l. 18. *huius avus.* Cic. Phil. VIII. 14: *num igitur eum* (Opi-

mium), *si tum esses, temerarium civem aut crudelem putares? aut Q. Metellum, cuius quattuor filii consulares? P. Lentulum, principem senatus, complures alios summos viros, qui cum L. Opimio consule armati Gracchum in Aventinum persecuti sunt, quo in proelio Lentulus grave vulnus accepit, interfectus est Gracchus et M. Fulvius consularis eiusque duo adulescentuli filii.*

l. 20. *de summa re p.* 'the general welfare of the state' contrasted with 'its very foundations.' *nos*, apparently Cicero only, not the rest of the senators. Cp. Sall. Cat. 43, *uti... Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium.*

l. 26. *Vercamini, censeo*, as in Verr. v. § 147, *magno opere censeo desistas.* Phil. II. § 95: *quid sis acturus, meditere censeo.* Sall. Cat. 52. 26: *misereamini censeo.* The conjunctive after *censeo* (you must fear I imagine) in this form of speech generally has an ironical force (S. G. § 672). Orelli and Matthiae adopt a needless conjecture of Ernesti's: *veremini.*

l. 29. *remissione*, not 'remission, pardon,' but 'mitigation,' as in § 12, *remissiores.*

P. 55. c. VII. § 14. l. 1. *exaudio:* see note to I. § 21. l. 2. Cicero refers, as the words *ad aures meas perveniunt* show, to the expressions which the senators were whispering to each other, not to language which was used freely among the populace. Nero afterwards made himself the exponent of these irresolute politicians.

l. 4. *ut habeam satis praesidii.* Some have supposed from these words that Cicero spoke after Nero, *qui de ea re praesidiis additis referendum censuerat* (Introd. § 28 note 97), an opinion which is contradicted by the definite words in § 7 ad init.: still it is possible that Cicero when committing the speech to writing afterwards met the view of Nero also by this short intimation.

l. 5. *transigunda.* The termination *-undus* for *-endus* is the usual one in verbs ending in *i*; in the case of other verbs it is indifferent which is used, except in a few conventional phrases, which always have *-undus.* Cp. Zumpt, § 167.

l. 8. *maiore populi...voluntate.* Cp. Phil. II. § 16: *at etiam ausus es clivum Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta fierent, vim adferebam senatui. Quis enim eques Romanus, quis adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis qui se civem meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? quamquam nec scribae sufficere nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt.*

ad summum imperium, sc. populi Romani, which was in danger of falling into the hands of a few ambitious men.

l. 10. *voluntate*, for the position cp. *voluntatis* § 16 ad fin pro Archia, § 13; Liv. v. 2. 8, hoc neque reges neque...importunos decemviros iniunxisse *servitutis, ut*, &c.

l. 11. *omnium generum*, inserted by Richter, following Putsche, for here *denique* in the second clause would be very surprising: cp. pro Sulla, § 29 *omnes boni omnium generum atque ordinum;* ad Att. II. 19. 2, *omnibus generibus, ordinibus, aetatibus offensum.*

l. 14. *templi ac loci*, a pleonastic expression common in Cicero, as in Vat. § 24: *in rostris, in illo augurato templo ac loco:* de imp. Cn. Pomp. § 70: *deos, qui huic loco temploque praesident.*

l. 18. *soli perire*, cp. II. § 21 ad fin.

§ 15. l. 21. *ita—ut*, with a limiting force: 'only so far that,' (=while—yet) as in pro Sulla, §§ 42, 56, 61, 73.

l. 25. *summam ordinis*, as de Rep. II. § 50: *Lycurgus γέροντας Lacedaemone appellavit...quos penes summam consilii voluit esse, cum imperii summam rex teneret.*

l. 27. *dissensione*, excited principally by the *lex Sempronia*, of B.C. 122, which had taken the *iudicia*, i.e. the right of acting as jurors in criminal trials as members of the Quaestiones Perpetuae, from the Senate, and transferred them to the *ordo equester:* see Mommsen, III. p. 116 ff., and cp. Florus, II. 5. 3: *iudiciariae leges Gracchi diviserant populum Romanum et bicipitem ex una fecerant civitatem.* After several attempts to restore the *iudicia* to the Senate subsequently, at last Sulla in 81 succeeded in effecting this for some time. But fresh dissatisfaction with the senatorial courts gave rise to the *lex Aurelia* of B.C. 70, which divided the judicial functions between the senators, the knights, and the tribuni aerarii as representatives of the third order. Cp. Ramsay, p. 292 ff. The senators were found to be unfit, because the provincial governors, whose misdeeds furnished the most frequent occasions for great criminal trials, were taken from their own order; the equites, or private capitalists, were not less unfit, because they farmed the taxes, and acquitted or condemned governors brought before them, according as they overlooked or repressed the illegal exactions of their subordinate agents, the 'publicans' of the New Testament. The utter break-down of the *iudicia* at Rome was at once an evident sign and a fruitful cause of the degeneracy of the Roman state. See Merivale, I. p. 41.

huius ordinis, 'with this order' or class, for *ab* (or *cum*) *hoc ordine:* cp. de prov. Cons. § 38, *ab huius ordinis coniunctione.*

So in Phil. II. § 23: *nihil praetermisi quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avocarem.* Cp. Madvig on Cic. de Fin. v. § 71.

l. 28. *revocatos,* by the *lex Aurelia.*

hodiernus dies coniungit; for never before had the harmony of the two orders showed itself in such a striking manner, and no occasion had previously arisen to demonstrate so forcibly the necessity of concord between the two orders. Cp. ep. ad Att. I. 14, 4: *si umquam mihi περίοδοι si καμπαι si ἐνθυμήματα si κατασκευαί, suppeditaverunt illo tempore. Quid multa? clamores. Etenim haec erat ὑπόθεσις, de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiae, de intermortuis reliquiis coniurationis, de vilitate, de otio. Nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros: tanti fuerant, ut ego eo brevior sim, quod (quom?) eos usque istinc exauditos putem.*

P. 56. l. 2. *tribunos aerarios,* who consisted of respectable and well-to-do people of the plebs, in earlier times charged with the raising of the war-tax (*tributum*) and the distribution of pay. Afterwards they seem to have retained an honorary position in connexion with the reorganisation of the *comitia* by tribes as well as centuries. Cp. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr. III. 191. They are here named especially, because since the *lex Aurelia* they formed an *ordo* by themselves.

l. 3. *scribas.* The clerks appointed by the state in the same way formed a distinct *ordo,* which was much respected because of the important business that they transacted. It was only the quaestors, the aediles, and the tribunes of the commons that had these permanent clerks: the most respected were the *scribae quaestorii,* in whose hands was a great part of the management of the public finances.

l. 4. *cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset.* The coincidence arose from the fact that the Nones of December, the day on which the quaestors entered upon their office, and drew lots for their *provincia quaestoria,* was also the *dies sortitionis* for their *scribae* (*qui scriba esset consulis, qui tribuni plebis.* Schol. Gronov.). This *sortitio* took place in the temple of Saturn (near the *aedes Concordiae*), where the *aerarium Populi Rom.* was situated. Though *exspectatio sortis,* 'the state of expectation, to whom they should be assigned by lot,' perhaps refers only to the most distinguished, the *scribae quaestorii,* still Cic. was able to bring into prominence the *studium scribarum universorum.* Cp. Mommsen, Röm. St. II.[2] 521.

frequentasset = 'frequentes congregasset,' quo sensu vox in Ciceronе vix alibi invenitur (Matth.). The primary meaning is 'to make crowded,' of cities and the like, but as

frequens is applied to persons 'in throngs' as well as to places 'thronged,' the extended usage is natural enough.

§ 16. l. 6. *ingenuorum multitudo.* Orelli expresses some astonishment that after the *scribae*, who were for the most part, he thinks, *libertini*, *ingenui*, and then again, as distinguished from the *scribae*, *libertini homines* are mentioned. But Mommsen (*de apparitoribus magistratuum Rom.*, in the Rhein. Museum, New Series, VI. 1 ff.) has shown (p. 51 f.) that the *scribae* of the quaestors and curule aediles were almost exclusively *ingenui*. Cp. Röm. St. I. 337.

l. 10. *cum sit;* notice that *cum* does not govern *sit*, which is the conjunctive after the relative of quality *cui*, 'who is there such that to him...are not' according to our idiom. For the conj. cp. Madvig, § 364, for the sing. § 213 b. Then *cum—tum*=both—and.

carum, 'precious, dear,' as the *patriae solum* ought to appear to every one, *dulce atque iucundum*, 'an occasion of joy and pleasure,' which cannot be required of all.

c. VIII. l. 11. *operae pretium.* S. G. § 482.

l. 12. *sua virtute*, by which they have made themselves worthy of *manumissio*.

l. 16. *quid commemoro?* differs from *quid commemorem?* above in § 15, inasmuch as the former asks why a thing is being done, the latter why it should be done. See Madvig, § 353, Seyffert, Schol. Lat. § 28, 37. 2.

l. 20. *qui modo...qui non*, the first relative clause contains a closer specification of the subject, the second its predicate. *qui modo*='provided only he,' *qui non*='such that he.'

l. 22. *haec stare*, see note to I. § 21 ad fin.

l. 23. *quantum audet*, sc. conferre. This suggests that many slaves saw themselves compelled, by the inclination of their masters to the conspiracy, to prove that they were themselves well-disposed to the state.

l. 24. *voluntatis*, see note on § 14, here depending on *tantum*, implied in *quantum:* there is a similar instance in de Orat. I. § 207, *quoniam* id *nobis*, *Antoni*, *hominibus id aetatis* oneris...*imponitur*.

§ 17. l. 26. *lenonem Lentuli.* Introduction § 26. Cic. bitterly calls the agent a pimp, to intimate the character of the services for which the people of this licentious man were usually employed.

l. 30. *illum*, pointing to the Forum, in which were a number of such *tabernae operis*, 'their business,' *sellae*, 'the workman's bench,' as in Verr. IV. § 56, *hominem in foro iubet sellam ponere, et facere anulum omnibus praesentibus.*

l. 32. *lectulus*, often used thus in polite language for *lectus*, not with any diminutive force, but a slight reference to its comfort, 'his dear bed:' cp. I. § 9, pro Sulla, § 52, *ut...me in meo lectulo trucidaret.* ad Att. XIV. 13. 5, *a ducenda uxore sic abhorret, ut libero* lectulo *neget esse quidquam iucundius.*

P. 57. l. 2. *vero*, 'in truth, certainly.'

l. 5. *instrumentum*, generally any tool or implement that serves for the prosecution of any handicraft, here in a wider sense, the necessaries for any business.

l. 6. *frequentia sustentatur, alitur otio.* This is a good instance of the very common figure called Chiasmus (from the Greek χ), in which the order of words in the first clause is inverted in the second. The origin of the figure seems to be in the fact that emphasis is given in Latin by an unusual or unexpected position of a word. Instances of it are to be found on every page of Cicero, none better than Phil. II. § 95, *vivus eripuit: reddit mortuus.* Sometimes we have a triple Chiasmus, or even one still more extended: see e.g. II. § 10, *vino languidi, conferti cibo* &c. Cp. S. G. § 947, Madv. § 473 b; Potts' Hints, &c. p. 21 (p. 46 new ed.), and esp. Sandys on Isocrat. p. 9.

l. 7. *quorum*, to be referred to the somewhat remote *eorum qui in tabernis sunt. occlusis tabernis*, ut cum itur ad saga, cum tumultus est in civitate in metu publico. Muret.

l. 9. *futurum fuit=fuisset*, see Madvig, § 342 a.

c. IX. § 18. l. 11. *praesidia*, see § 14.

l. 13. *periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte.* Notice the distinction between *et* and *atque: et* couples coordinate words together, without any additional signification whatever; but while *-que* represents the second member as a kind of supplement to the first, *atque* denotes it as representing an idea of equal or greater importance, quite distinct from the first: so that, as here, it acquires the force of 'ay, and.' Cp. S. G. § 860, Madv. § 433.

l. 18. *vobis*, cp. Madvig, § 434, obs. 2, and see note on *ille*, III. § 22.

l. 20. *Penatium*, cp. Ramsay, p. 321, and for the form of the gen. the note on *optimatium*, I. § 7, l. 10.

l. 21. *illum ignem Vestae sempiternum*, in the temple of Vesta on the Forum. The Vestal virgins watched it, and kept it blazing day and night. *Illum* is added, because the orator points to the position of the temple.

l. 22. *templa atque delubra.* See note on III. § 2.

§ 19. l. 28. *facultas*, properly 'possibility, or opportunity to acquire:' cp. pro Sulla, § 42, *cuius generis erat in senatu facultas maxima*, 'a class of men of which they could easily find enough in the Senate;' and Verr. v. § 6, *sine ulla facultate navium.*

habetis, 'you have on your side.'

l. 30. *in civili causa;* we should say 'in a question of politics.'

l. 32. *quantis laboribus fundatum paene delerit*, a concise mode of expression for *quantis laboribus imperium fundatum sit, quod una nox paene delevit.*

P. 58. l. 3. *una nox*, the night in which the Allobroges and their *comitatus* were arrested: cp. pro Flacco, § 112: *o nox illa, quae paene aeternas huic urbi tenebras attulisti, cum Galli ad bellum, Catilina ad urbem, coniurati ad ferrum et flammam vocabantur, cum ego te, Flacce, caelum noctemque contestans, flens flentem obtestabar, cum tuae fidei optimae et spectatissimae salutem urbis et civium commendabam.* On the other hand Cic. says (pro Sulla, § 52) of the gathering in the house of Laeca: *quae nox omnium temporum coniurationis acerrima fuit atque acerbissima.*

c. X. § 20. l. 10. *ad sententiam*, sc. rogandam.

l. 14. *turpem*, because of their moral worthlessness.

l. 15. *scelere*, see note on I. § 8.

l. 23. *gratulationem*, see note on § 10.

§ 21. l. 25. *in Africam redire atque Italia decedere*, a ὕστερον πρότερον, i.e. an inversion of the natural order, as in *si valeo vivoque*, by which the first clause, as the more important, is brought into the greater prominence. So just before, § 20, we had *meorum factorum atque consiliorum.*

l. 29. *Paulus ille*, without a praenomen (as we find also merely *Scipio* and *Africanus*), which is generally omitted if to the name of a man a word like *ille* is added to denote his distinction.

l. 31. *obsidione*, 'military occupation.' Cp. Verg. Aen. III. 400, *Sallentinos obsedit milite campos Lyctius Idomeneus.*

P. 59. l. 2. *terminis continentur*, i.e. whose career of victory has been limited only by the boundaries of the earth and the course of the sun. See note to III. § 26 ad fin.

l. 6. *quo victores revertantur;* to the same effect was the compliment to Cicero uttered by Pompeius (de Off. I. § 78): *mihi quidem...Cn. Pompeius multis audientibus hoc tribuit ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rem pub. beneficio, ubi triumpharet, esset habiturus.* Madvig, § 363.

§ 22. l. 7. *quamquam*, corrective 'and yet:' *uno loco*, 'in one respect.'

condicio melior, i.e. conquerors of foreign foes are in a better position, in that &c. See note to III. § 2.

l. 9. *recepti* [*in amicitiam*]: the bracketed words are not found in the best MSS.: their omission brings out more sharply the antithesis, as in Vell. II. 105, *subacti Canninefates...recepti Cherusci.*

l. 15. *aeternum bellum*, cp. pro Sulla, § 28, *cum mihi uni cum omnibus improbis aeternum videam esse bellum susceptum*, 'that there is in store for me, by my own action.'

l. 22. *coniunctionem vestram:* it was soon broken up again: hence Cicero writes two years later to Atticus (I. 17. 8), *credo te audisse nostros equites paene a senatu esse diiunctos*, and in the following year (I. 18. 3), *facto Scto de ambitu, de iudiciis nulla lex perlata, exagitatus senatus, alienati equites Rom. Sic ille annus duo firmamenta rei p. per me unum constituta euertit: nam et senatus auctoritatem abiecit et ordinum concordiam diiunxit.*

l. 24. *confringere et labefactare*, 'to break up and to shatter,' the former a metaphor perhaps taken from crockery, the latter from a house or other building. *conspirationem* often used by Cic. in a good sense; and found with *coniunctio* also in Cic. de Dom. § 28, *hanc nostram coniunctionem, hanc conspirationem in re publ. bene gerenda, hanc iucundissimam vitae atque officiorum omnium societatem certi homines diremerunt.* Cp. also ad Div. XII. 15. § 3, *hanc concordiam et conspirationem omnium ordinum ad defendendam libertatem proponse non crederent esse factam.*

c. XI. § 23. l. 26. *pro provincia quam neglexi.* By the *lex Sempronia de provinciis consularibus* of the year 122 (Mommsen, III. 118) the senate, before the election of consuls, had to determine the provinces to which the consuls about to be elected were to proceed upon the expiry of their year of office: and then the consuls cast lots or made some private arrangement between themselves as to which each should take. Now at

this time Gallia Cisalpina had fallen to Antonius; Macedonia, a province from which a triumph and rich booty might be expected, to Cicero. But in order to draw Antonius off from his connexion with Catilina, Cicero transferred Macedonia to his colleague, and then himself renounced Gallia (ad Att. II. 1. 3: *oratio sexta consularis, cum provinciam in contione deposui*). See Plutarch, Cic. 12 (Vol. v. p. 47, ed. Clough), 'What gave the greatest fear to the nobles was, that Antonius was thought privy to the conspiracy of Catilina, and not to dislike it, because of his great debts. Cicero, endeavouring in the first place to provide a remedy against this danger, procured a decree assigning to him the province of Macedonia, he himself declining that of Gaul, which was offered to him. And this piece of favour so completely won over Antonius, that he was ready to second and respond to, like a hired player, whatever Cicero said for the good of his country. And now, having made his colleague thus true and tractable, he could with greater courage attack the conspirators.' Cic. ad Fam. xv. 4. 13: (*in consulatu meo*) *et provinciam ornatam, et spem non dubiam triumphi neglexi.*

l. 27. *propter custodiam*, 'because I wished to watch over.'

l. 28. *pro clientelis*, because the communities of the provinces usually chose new patrons from governors who had left them, a mark of confidence which considerably enhanced a man's reputation and influence. Cic. adds *hospitiisque*, because the *hospitium* generally went with the position of *patronus*. Cp. de Off. I. § 35: *ii, qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi. In quo tanto opere apud nostros iustitia culta est, ut ii, qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patroni essent more maiorum.*

l. 30. *urbanis opibus*, opposed to *provincialibus*, by the means and influence which my activity in the city acquires for me.

tueor vetera, *comparo* nova.

l. 31. *pro meis...studiis: pro* is not used here in quite the same sense as in the preceding clauses. Above, it='in place of;' here, 'in return for.'

P. 60. l. 6. *superaverit*, 'ever baffles.'

commendo constitutes the main verb, grammatically, because the recommendation of his son is to him the main concern: but we should have expected logically: *filio meo quem vobis commendo, satis erit praesidii;* hence too we have the future perf. *fefellerit.*

l. 9. *haec*, see note on I. § 21 ad fin.

solius not *solus*, for before the senate Cic. might indeed claim to have taken all the danger upon himself, but not to have saved the state alone.

§ 24. l. 19. *praestare*, 'to answer for, to become security for.' The word here used has much the same force as above, § 9, *cognitor sententiae*, where Cic. is in the same way speaking of a defence of the *sententia senatus* before the people. Cp. ad Quint. Fratr. I. i. 10: *Circumspiciendum diligenter ut non te unum, sed omnes ministros imperii tui ... reipubl. praestare videare*, de Orat. I. 113 (note). The addition *per se ipsum*, shows great self-consciousness, and, as the issue showed, miserable self-deception.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

LIST OF THE PASSAGES IN WHICH CONJECTURES HAVE BEEN ADOPTED.

α = Class I.; β = Class II.; γ = Class III.; ω = all MSS.

I. § 3. *quod C. Servilius* Muretus: *quodque* α, *quod Q.* $\beta\gamma$. § 6. *sed vives* Weiske: *et* ω Mr. § 8. *quod non ego* Halm: *quod ego* ω; *quin ego* Madvig. § 9. *discripsisti* Bücheler: *descripsisti* ω. § 13. *in fama* Augustinus: *infamiae* ω. § 16. *elapsa est* Heumann: *elapsa est; tamen ea carere diutius non potes* ω. § 17. *nihil te* H: *nihil de te* β. § 19. *M'. Lepidum* Manutius: *M. Lepidum* [the same mistake is made by the Cod. Med. in Tac. Ann. I. 13]. § 20. *ecquid: et quid* or *quid* ω. § 22. *umquam* from Quintil. IX. 3, 62; omitted in ω. § 24. *cui sciam* Guilelmus: *cum sciam* ω. § 26. [*quibus—senties*] rejected by Eberhard and Nohl. § 31. *biberunt* α Madvig; *biberint* $\beta\gamma$. § 33. *ominibus* Naugerius: *omnibus* ω.

II. § 3. *quam multos qui ... faverent,* ω: rejected by Bloch. § 5. *prae Gallicanis* Lambinus: *ex Gallicanis* ω. § 8. *ullo in angulo* Mommsen: *ne ullo in angulo* ω; *ne ullo quidem in angulo* Halm. § 20. *se in insperatis* Ernesti: *se insperatis.* § 21. *quam primum* Halm: *primum* ω.

III. § 9. *ab Lentulo* H.: *a p. lentulo.* § 10. *recepissent* Muretus: *praecepissent* ω. § 14. *Q. Annium* H.: *Q. Manlium* ω. § 22. *Iam vero ab Lentulo* Mommsen: *Iam vero illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, iam ab Lentulo* ω*. *potuerint*

* Even after excluding these words, we have still the clumsy addition, *commissaeque litterae,* left to spoil the sense; and as the good MSS. *b* and *s* have *commissae* we ought perhaps to adopt the following restoration of the passage: *Iam vero* [*illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, iam*] *ab Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer tantae res creditae et ignotis et barbaris* [*commissae litterae*] *numquam essent profecto &c.* (Halm.)

Madvig, *potuerunt* ω. § 24. *oppressit* Lambinus: *oppressit, eiecit ex urbe* ω. § 25. *Atque illae tamen...quaesivit* del. Halm: *Atque illae...diiudicatae sint* del. Bloch et Madvig: *Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones erant huiusmodi (eiusmodi) quirites quae non ad delendam sed ad commutandam rem p. pertinebant (pertinerent). non illi nullam esse rem p. sed in ea quae esset se esse principes, neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere uoluerunt. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones quarum nulla exitium rei p. quaesiuit eius modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae sed internecione civium diiudicatae sint* ω*.

IV. § 7. *qui nos omnes* Bloch: *qui nos omnes qui populum R.* ω. § 8. *non putent* Ernesti: *non putet* ω. *multos una dolores animi* Kayser: *multas uno dolore* ω: *multos uno dolore dolores* Graevius. Post *corporis* add. *aerumnas* Halm. *proposita* Müller: *posita* ω. § 9. *vincat* Muretus: *uindicat* ω. § 10. *iniussu* Bucher and Ernesti: *iussu* ω. § 11. *populo Romano* α: *p. R.* Aβ: om. γ. *purgatio* add. Müller: om. α: *exsolvitis* β: *unde populus Romanus exsolvet* Madvig: *defendetis* γ. § 12. *non quam acerbissimum* Lambinus: *quam acerbissimum* ω. § 13. *iure* add. Eberhard, Nohl. § 14. *omnium generum* added by Putsche. § 24. *praestare possit* ω: *praestare* Heumann and Madvig.

* Other critics have struck out the whole of the offensive repetition after '*uoluerunt*,' as an interpolation. But the correction suggested above seems more probable. It proceeds upon the assumption that the two-fold recension of the passage arose through an addition made by way of gloss. If the original reading ran '*Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones quae non pertinebant*,' it was natural with the long parenthetic expression '*non illi...uoluerunt*,' to feel the want of a predicate for *dissensiones*, and to insert the words *erant huius modi Quirites*, which involved at once the alteration of the indicative *pertinebant*. But when such an addition had once been made, which soon was seen by its form to be an interpolation, the words '*eius modi fuerunt &c.*' were left hanging in the air, and a connexion had to be found for them by means of a new interpolation. (Halm.)

ANALYSIS.

ORATIO I.

§ 1. How far will your audacity carry you, Catilina? Do you not see that all your designs are known, and measures taken to provide against them? § 2. You dare to take your place in the senate; but long ago you ought to have been put to death. § 3. For this there are plenty of precedents, and it is only through the remissness of the consuls that the full powers entrusted to them have not been exerted. § 4. C. Gracchus, M. Fulvius, L. Saturninus, C. Servilius, were killed at once for their treason; you ought to have shared their fate. § 5. Your guilt is patent; and you have only been spared thus long, that all may acknowledge the justice of your execution. § 6. You are powerless to effect anything against the state, such has been my vigilance; therefore give up your mad designs. § 7. Do you not remember that I have foreknown and frustrated all your previous attempts? § 8. I will prove to you that I am as well acquainted with your present intentions. § 9. What a shameful thought! that you, a senator, should have laid all your plans for the overthrow of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the city! § 10. Hitherto I have baffled you. § 11. Begone then, with all your crew, to your fellow-conspirators in Etruria; I will no longer suffer you to remain in Rome. Once you aimed your blows only at me. § 12. Now you are attacking the commonwealth; therefore I bid you leave it, § 13. for exile, if you will; for no pleasure can await you, where everyone knows your present designs, your past shameful life. § 14. You are stained with crime, and bankrupt. § 15. Again and again you have attempted murder. § 16. You are shunned by all the senators. § 17. The noblest of the state treat you in a manner which would be intolerable even from the lowest. § 18. Your country loathes you and bids you free her from your hateful presence. § 19. Your own offers show your consciousness of guilt. § 20. You ask me to take the judgment of the senate upon you. I will not do so formally, but I will show you what they think of you. § 21. Language, which would not be borne if addressed to others, they allow to be used to you; and the *equites* fully share their feelings.

§ 22. I know what a storm of odium your voluntary banishment would bring upon me; but I have no fear that any sense of shame should bring you to this. § 23. If, on the other hand, you join the army of Manlius (as I know you will), this will bring me much renown. § 24. I know that you have made all arrangements for this already. §§ 25, 26. The monstrous war, that will ensue, will give you the greatest joy, and call out all your varied powers. § 27. Now, senators, I will explain the reasons for my conduct. The state might well demand them from me; § 28. and show me that there are no real hindrances to vigorous action. § 29. But I have spared Catilina thus far, not from any fear on my own account; § 30. but only that all my fellow-citizens might be fully convinced of the existence and the importance of the conspiracy. § 31. The death of Catilina would furnish but an imperfect and temporary remedy for the disorder of the state. § 32. His departure will serve at once to distinguish the well-affected from the seditious. § 33. Therefore, once more I say, begone, Catilina, to your unholy war; and may Iuppiter, the guardian of our city, protect us, and visit you with a terrible and eternal punishment.

ORATIO II.

§ 1. At length, fellow-citizens, we have got rid of Catilina from the city. This is our first great success. § 2. A success which is causing him the deepest grief. § 3. He ought indeed to have been put to death; and though much sympathy with him would have been excited by this course, I would have adopted it, had I thought it best for you. § 4. But now you have to fight with a declared enemy; and you see how little I think of him, from my having allowed him to leave the city. I only wish he had taken more of his followers with him. § 5. His forces are not worthy to be compared with ours; all that we have to fear is his partisans within the city. § 6. And their designs are completely known to me, and I am prepared to check them with severity. The only favour that I will grant them, is permission to join Catilina. § 7. We shall be fortunate if we can clear off all this scum of the city at once. § 8. Catilina had a wonderful and wide-reaching power over the lowest characters. § 9. He was equally intimate with the boldest ruffians, and a favourite with them. § 10. Would that all these profligates had left the city with him! They are a reckless, bankrupt, dissipated lot. § 11. But a severe punishment shall come upon them, and then the state will enjoy universal peace. § 12. Some say that I have driven Catilina into exile; of course he is just the man

to flee in terror from hard words! The senators showed him yesterday what they thought of him. § 13. Then I disclosed all his nefarious plans, and asked him why he did not join his fellow-conspirators. § 14. Of course he had nothing to do with Manlius, and is going off quietly to Massilia! How hard is the task of government! If Catilina abandons his former designs in consequence of the measures that I have taken, all these measures will be misinterpreted. § 15. I should not care for that; but you will hear very soon that he has not abandoned his designs. § 16. His partisans fear that he may have gone into exile; they would prefer that he should join Manlius, and that is just what he wishes himself. § 17. But to pass on from him to his friends who remain at Rome; I hope to be able to win some of them back to loyalty. § 18. The first class of these comprises those whose debts are large, but their estates larger. They can gain nothing, but will lose much, by the success of Catilina. § 19. A second class consists of those who are deep in debt, but very ambitious, and looking to the possibilities offered by a revolution. The conspiracy has no chance of succeeding, and if it did succeed, the city would be ruined, and would fall a prey to some one of the lowest class. § 20. The Sullan veterans (a third class) are also deeply in debt, and hope to restore their fortunes, wasted in luxury, by a new reign of terror. But the citizens have such memories of the last, that they would never endure the like again. § 21. The fourth class of lazy good-for-nothings of all kinds are no more likely to attain prosperity by war than by any other means. § 22. The fifth class consists of desperate ruffians, who had better remain with Catilina, and perish with him. The last and lowest class is composed of effeminate debauchees, the feeble dandies of the town. § 23. They too must perish with Catilina, to free the city from their offensive and even dangerous society. But they are not likely to be able to endure the hardships of a camp. § 24. Compare the power of the armies, the generals, the fortresses of Rome with this miserable rabble. § 25. And if we say nothing of our material advantages, see what a moral superiority there is on our side. § 26. Guard your own houses, then, heedfully. I will look after the city; and all due measures of defence shall be taken. § 27. Once more I warn the partisans of Catilina, who still remain in the city. They may leave if they like, but if they remain, they shall be carefully watched and sternly punished. § 28. Yet all shall be done with the greatest order and quiet, and with the least possible severity. § 29. I know that the gods are on our side; therefore implore them to keep the city, which their grace has raised so high, safe from intestine foes.

ORATIO III.

§ 1. To-day, fellow-citizens, by the favour of the gods, I have rescued the state from the greatest dangers. § 2. This ought to be as important a day in your eyes as that of the foundation of the city, since it has witnessed its deliverance from impending destruction. § 3. I have stated the facts already in the senate; now I will explain them briefly to you. My vigilance has never ceased from the day when Catilina left the city. § 4. My special attention has been directed to those conspirators who remained within the walls; and happily, by means of their intrigues with the Allobroges, an opportunity was given me of discovering all their designs. § 5. Last night I sent the praetors with a trusty guard to the Mulvian bridge; § 6. and there they arrested the envoys of the Allobroges; the letters found upon them were brought to me, with the envoys themselves. Gabinius, Statilius, Cethegus and Lentulus were summoned to my house. § 7. I would not open the letters, even in the presence of many distinguished men, but hastily called together the senate. § 8. Arms were found in the house of Cethegus; and Volturcius and § 9. the Gauls gave evidence about the conspiracy before the senate. § 10. The letters were produced. Cethegus, Statilius and Lentulus acknowledged their own seals upon them; then they were opened and found to contain the clearest proofs of guilt. § 11. Lentulus cross-examined the Gauls, but failed to shake their evidence, and was silent in the consciousness of his treason. § 12. Then Volturcius showed the letter for Catilina, which he had received from Lentulus. Gabinius also at last admitted his complicity. § 13. In fact the demeanour of those arrested furnished the most striking evidence of their guilt. The senate passed a strongly-worded resolution. § 14. After thanking me and the praetors for our services, they ordered that all implicated should be placed in custody. § 15. These were nine in number. A *supplicatio* was decreed in my honour: I am the first, holding no military command, who has received this distinction, made especially valuable by the language in which it is expressed. § 16. This blow has crushed all the hopes of Catilina. He it was whom we had most to fear. § 17. But now he has been driven into open rebellion. Had it not been so, it would have been a much harder task to deliver you from the dangers that threatened you from him. § 18. It is evident that we have had the help of the gods throughout, they have showed us many evident marks of their favour. § 19. You remember of course when the statue of Iuppiter was vowed.

§ 20. This was only ready for erection this very day. § 21. Have we not plain proofs in this coincidence, and even in the very position of the statue, that the gods are watching over us? § 22. It is Iuppiter, and not I, to whom you owe your deliverance; in the rashness of the conspirators, and the unexpected fidelity of the Gauls, we must see his action. § 23. Therefore celebrate heartily the *supplicatio*, so justly decreed for these signal mercies. § 24. Previous civil wars have brought the greatest suffering on the state. § 25. And yet no previous civil disturbance has been so dangerous as this. § 26. For myself I ask nothing but your grateful remembrances of me, coupled with Pompeius. § 27. But I look to you to protect me against the enemies that I have made by serving you. § 28. I am willing enough to withstand them; but it is to your interest to encourage others to serve you boldly and faithfully. § 29. I will endeavour to preserve the honourable position which I have won, and will never forget the exploits which I have performed on your behalf. Do you guard the city carefully to-night as you have done before. I will take care that this duty is not imposed upon you for long.

ORATIO IV.

§ 1. I see, senators, that you are all eagerly waiting to hear what I shall say. With all thanks for your anxiety on my behalf, I do not care what dangers I undergo myself, to secure your safety. § 2. I have found danger on every side; but I will endure anything, to deliver you from calamity. § 3. Then have no regard to me in your deliberations. All that is dearest to me is less dear than the welfare of the state. § 4. The designs of the conspirators were most criminal. § 5. Their guilt is clearly proved. § 6. I have brought the case before you, and ask for an immediate decision, for the danger is widely spread. § 7. Two opinions have been expressed; that of Silanus, in favour of death; that of Caesar, in favour of the severest penalties short of death. Each has arguments to recommend it; the latter is not easy of execution; still decree it, if you please. § 8. It is really extremely severe. § 9. I see that it is for my own interest that it should be adopted: much less odium will be excited by it. But the interest of the state before all. § 10. Caesar has shown by his recent action that he does not think that the lex Sempronia prevents us from deciding the case. § 11. Whichever way your judgment goes, you need not fear the result. Real humanity bids you to take strong measures. § 12. The thought of the crime which has been attempted, will show you that it would be cruel not to punish it severely.

§ 13. In a previous instance of the kind, no one accused L. Caesar of hardheartedness, and this is a much worse case. A mistaken lenity is more likely to bring upon you the charge of cruelty, than a just severity. § 14. There is no reason to fear any difficulty in carrying out your sentence; for there is the greatest unity of feeling in the city. § 15. The partisans of Catilina are not worthy to be considered citizens. But the *equites* are thoroughly at one with you: the *tribuni aerarii* and the *scribae* support you. § 16. Even the poorest classes and the freedmen are enthusiastic in the cause. § 17. The report that the mechanics and shopkeepers have been successfully tampered with, is quite untrue. § 18. Take care then that you do not fail the Roman people; they will not fail you. Your decision concerns all that is most precious to you. § 19. You have every advantage on your side; and you must prevent the possibility of the recurrence of such a conspiracy in future. § 20. I know the dangers which I am incurring, but I shall never repent of my conduct now. § 21. I shall have some place of honour among the most illustrious benefactors of the country, the Scipios, Paullus, Marius, and, greatest of all, Pompeius. § 22. Though henceforth every bad citizen will be my enemy, I trust that I shall be able to repel them by your aid. § 23. All that I ask in return for all the benefits that I have conferred, and the sacrifices that I have made, is your grateful remembrance of my services, and your protection for my son. § 24. Vote then boldly and earnestly, and I will carry out your decision.

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